NEW TIMES

SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT

THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION AND THE WORLD

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WE LIVE IN A WORLD THAT HAS RADICALLY CHANGED

FROM A MESSAGE OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE TO THE SOVIET PEOPLE

№ 208.
Пятница.
27 октября 1917 г.

ИЗВѢСТІЯ

ЦѢНА:
въ Петроградѣ 15 коп.
на ст. жел. д. 18 коп.

Центральнаго Исполнительнаго Комитета
и ПЕТРОГРАДСКАГО СОВѢТА
РАБОЧИХЪ и СОЛДАТСКИХЪ ДЕПУТАТОВЪ.

Адресъ конторы: Литовка, Сайкинъ пер., д. № 6. Телефонъ № 218-41
Адресъ редакціи: Смольный Институтъ, 2 й этажъ комната № 145. Телефонъ № 36-89

Декретъ о мирѣ,

принятый единогласно на засѣданіи Всероссійскаго Съѣзда Совѣтовъ Рабочихъ, Солдатскихъ и Крестьянскихъ Депутатовъ 26 октября 1917 г.

Рабочее и крестьянское правительство, созданное революціей 24—25 октября и опирающееся на Совѣты Рабочихъ, Солдатскихъ и Крестьянскихъ Депутатовъ, предлагаетъ всѣмъ воюющимъ народамъ и ихъ правительствамъ начать немедленно переговоры о справедливомъ демократическомъ мирѣ.

Справедливымъ или демократическимъ миромъ, котораго желаетъ подавляющее большинство истощенныхъ, измученныхъ и истерзанныхъ войной рабочихъ и трудящихся классовъ всѣхъ воюющихъ странъ—миромъ, котораго самымъ опредѣленнымъ и настойчивымъ образомъ требовали русскіе рабочіе и крестьяне послѣ свержения царской монархіи,—такимъ миромъ правительство считаетъ немедленный миръ безъ аннексій (т. е. безъ захвата чужихъ земель, безъ насильственнаго присоединенія чужихъ народностей) и безъ контрибуцій.

Такой миръ предлагаетъ Правительство Россіи заключить всѣмъ воюющимъ народамъ немедленно, выражая готовность сдѣлать безъ малѣйшей оттяжки тотчасъ же всѣ рѣшительные шаги впредь до окончательнаго утвержденія всѣхъ условій такого мира полномочными собраніями народныхъ представителей всѣхъ странъ и всѣхъ націй.

Подъ аннексіей или захватомъ чужихъ земель Правительство понимаетъ сообразно правовому сознанію демократіи вообще, и трудящихся классовъ въ особенности всякое присоединеніе къ большому или сильному государству малой или слабой народности безъ точно, ясно и добровольно выраженнаго согласія и желанія этой народности, независимо отъ того, когда это насильственное присоединеніе совершено, независимо также отъ того, насильно развитой или отсталой является насильственно присоединяемая или насильственно удерживаемая въ границахъ даннаго государства народность, если ей, вопреки выраженному съ ея стороны желанію—все равно, выражено ли это желаніе въ печати, въ народныхъ собраніяхъ, въ рѣшеніяхъ партій или возмущеніяхъ и возстаніяхъ противъ національнаго гнета—не представляется права свободнымъ голосованіемъ, при полномъ выводѣ войска присоединяющей или вообще болѣе сильной націи, рѣшить безъ малѣйшаго принужденія вопросъ о формахъ государственнаго существованія этой націи, то присоединеніе ея является аннексіей, т. е. захватомъ и насиліемъ.

Продолжать эту войну изъ-за того, какъ раздѣлить между сильными и богатыми націями захваченныя ими слабыя народности. Правительство считаетъ величайшимъ преступленіемъ противъ человѣчества и торжественно заявляетъ свою рѣшимость немедленно подписать условія мира, прекращающаго эту войну на указанныхъ равно справедливыхъ для всѣхъ безъ изъятія народностей условіяхъ.

Вмѣстѣ съ тѣмъ Правительство заявляетъ, что оно отнюдь не считаетъ вышеуказанныхъ условій мира ультимативными, т. е. соглашается разсмотрѣть и всякія другія условія мира, настаивая лишь на возможно болѣе быстромъ предложеніи ихъ какой бы то ни было воюющей страной и на полнѣйшей ясности, на безусловномъ исключеніи всякой двусмысленности и всякой тайны при предложеніи условій мира.

Тайную дипломатію Правительство отмѣняетъ, со своей стороны выражая твердое намѣреніе вести всѣ переговоры совершенно открыто передъ всѣмъ народомъ, приступая немедленно къ полному опубликованію тайныхъ договоровъ, подтвержденныхъ или заключенныхъ правительствомъ помѣщиковъ и капиталистовъ съ февраля по 25 октября 1917 года. Все содержаніе этихъ тайныхъ договоровъ, поскольку оно направлено, какъ это въ большинствѣ случаевъ бывало къ доставленію выгодъ и привилегій русскимъ помѣщикамъ и капиталистамъ, къ удержанію или увеличенію аннексій великороссовъ, Правительство объявляетъ безусловно и немедленно отмѣненнымъ.

Обращаясь съ предложеніемъ къ правительствамъ и народамъ всѣхъ странъ начать немедленно открытые переговоры о заключеніи мира, Правительство выражаетъ съ своей стороны готовность вести эти переговоры, какъ посредствомъ письменныхъ сношеній, по телеграфу, такъ и путемъ переговоровъ между представителями разныхъ странъ или на конференціи таковыхъ представителей. Для облегченія такихъ переговоровъ Правительство назначаетъ своего полномочнаго представителя въ нейтральныя страны.

Правительство предлагаетъ всѣмъ правительствамъ и народамъ всѣхъ воюющихъ странъ немедленно заключить перемиріе, причемъ со своей стороны, считаетъ желательнымъ, чтобы это перемиріе было заключено не меньше, какъ на три мѣсяца, т. е. на такой срокъ, въ теченіе котораго вполнѣ возможно, какъ завершеніе переговоровъ о мирѣ съ участіемъ представителей всѣхъ безъ изъятія народностей, или націй, втянутыхъ въ войну или вынужденныхъ къ участію въ ней, такъ равно и созывъ полномочныхъ собраній народныхъ представителей всѣхъ странъ для окончательнаго утвержденія условій мира.

Обращаясь съ этимъ предложеніемъ мира къ правительствамъ и народамъ всѣхъ воюющихъ странъ, временное рабочее и крестьянское правительство Россіи обращается также въ особенности къ сознательнымъ рабочимъ трехъ самыхъ передовыхъ націй человѣчества и самыхъ крупныхъ участвующихъ въ настоящей войнѣ государствъ, Англіи, Франціи и Германіи. Рабочіе этихъ странъ оказали наибольшія услуги дѣлу прогресса и соціализма и великіе образцы чартистскаго движенія въ Англіи, ряда революцій, имѣющихъ всемірно-историческое значеніе, совершенныхъ французскимъ пролетаріатомъ, наконецъ, въ геройской борьбѣ противъ исключительнаго закона въ Германіи и образцовой для рабочихъ всего міра дѣятельной, упорной дисциплинированной работѣ созданія массовыхъ пролетарскихъ организацій Германіи. Всѣ эти образцы пролетарскаго героизма и историческаго творчества служатъ намъ порукой за то, что рабочіе названныхъ странъ поймутъ лежащія на нихъ теперь задачи освобожденія человѣчества отъ ужасовъ войны и ея послѣдствій, что эти рабочіе всесторонней рѣшительной и беззавѣтно энергичной дѣятельностью своей помогутъ намъ успѣшно довести до конца дѣло мира и вмѣстѣ съ тѣмъ дѣло освобожденія трудящихся и эксплоатируемыхъ массъ населенія отъ всякаго рабства и всякой эксплоатаціи.

DECREE ON PEACE

unanimously adopted at the All-Russia Congress of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies on October 26, 1917.

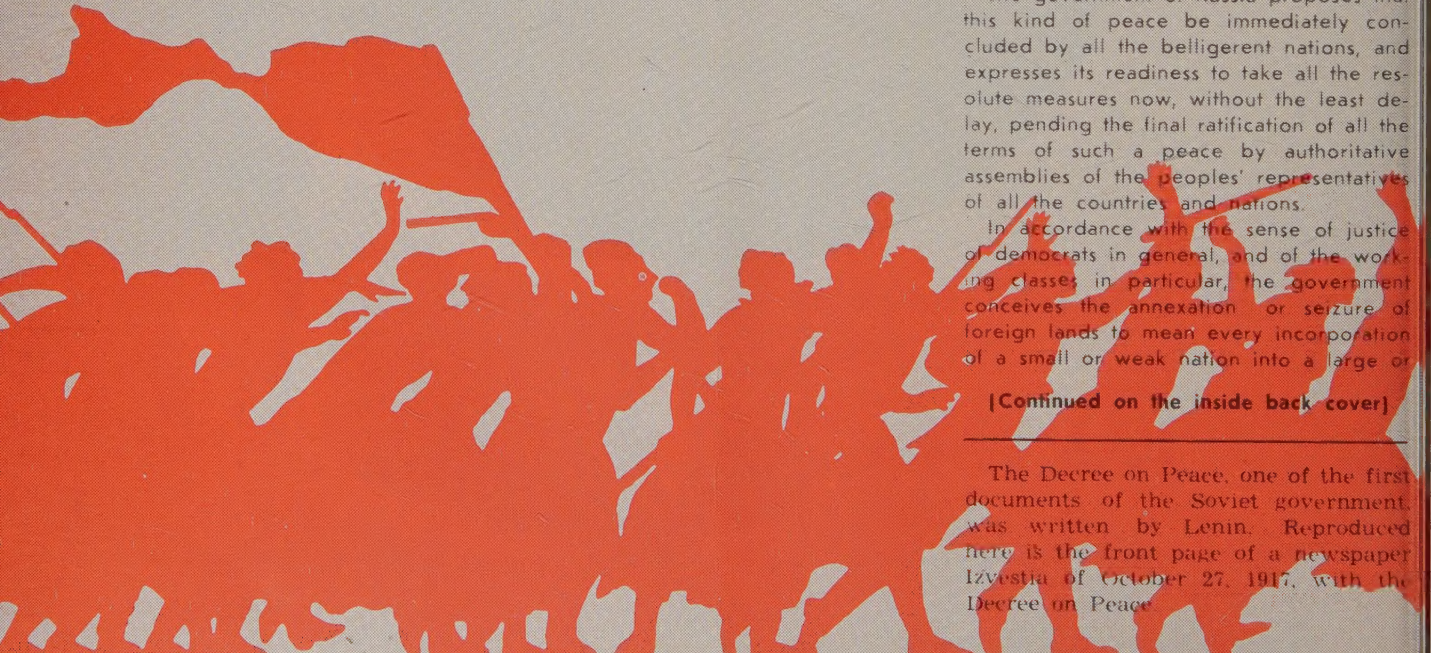
The workers' and peasants' government, created by the Revolution of October 24-25 and basing itself on the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies, calls upon all the belligerent peoples and their governments to start immediate negotiations for a just, democratic peace.

By a just or democratic peace, for which the overwhelming majority of the working class and other working people of all the belligerent countries, exhausted, tormented and racked by the war are craving—a peace that has been most definitely and insistently demanded by the Russian workers and peasants, ever since the overthrow of the tsarist monarchy—by such a peace the government means an immediate peace without annexations (i.e., without the seizure of foreign lands, without the forcible incorporation of foreign nations) and without indemnities.

The government of Russia proposes that this kind of peace be immediately concluded by all the belligerent nations, and expresses its readiness to take all the resolute measures now, without the least delay, pending the final ratification of all the terms of such a peace by authoritative assemblies of the peoples' representatives of all the countries and nations.

In accordance with the sense of justice of democrats in general, and of the working classes in particular, the government conceives the annexation or seizure of foreign lands to mean every incorporation of a small or weak nation into a large or

[Continued on the inside back cover]



The Decree on Peace, one of the first documents of the Soviet government, was written by Lenin. Reproduced here is the front page of a newspaper Izvestia of October 27, 1917, with the Decree on Peace.

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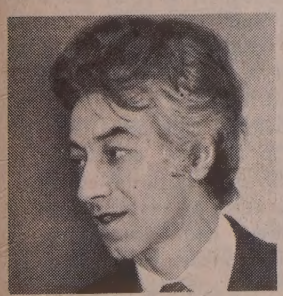

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THE CHOICE MADE BY THE EPOCH

A traveller from the Western Hemisphere who found himself in Petrograd as the revolution reached its culmination in the unforgettable October of 1917 chose an expressive, and more importantly, prophetic formula to describe the popular uprising in Russia. He called it the "ten days that shook the world." Now that nearly 70 years have passed since the day of the Great October Socialist Revolution—we will be celebrating the great anniversary on November 7—the political and economic effects of the "ten days that shook the world" are especially clear.

"Our revolution is the most outstanding event of the 20th century and one that ushered in a new era in the history of humanity." These words taken from the jubilee address of the CPSU Central Committee to the Soviet people have been confirmed by the course of the historical development of this country and the striking changes that have taken place around the world. Let us list the more prominent of them.

More than one third of mankind has cast off the fetters of capitalist exploitation. Socialism exists, develops, and becomes stronger as a world system. Colonial empires have tumbled down. The voices of dozens of young sovereign nations are ringing loud and clear in the international community. The proletariat, whose interests are defended by the Communist and Workers' parties, has gained in strength. Mass democratic, anti-imperialist, and anti-war movements have become a notable factor in the world today.

The U.S.S.R. is the world's first nation where socialism has been made a reality. The socialist revolution delivered this country from the ills and hardships that to this day poison the lives of many nations. There is no exploitation in this country. There is no unemployment. There is no national oppression, poverty, or illiteracy. The working people are socially provided for and confident in the future.

At its finest hour the nation that cast off the yoke of exploitation cleared all the avenues for the historic creative endeavour of the masses. But the revolution is not merely an event of the glorious past, or an object of national pride. Its political, ideological, and moral potential is far from exhausted. Just as seventy years ago, it remains a landmark for everyone who wants to see his homeland happy and prosperous and live in a world safeguarded from wars. That the Soviet Union is approaching its jubilee seeking a revolutionary renewal of society is the best confirmation of the viability and relevance of the ideals pursued by our forefathers who stormed the Winter Palace.

All that is being done by the nation as part of renewal is profound and significant. The processes involved extend to one and all in this country and arouse keen interest abroad. We are still getting accustomed to the widely divergent views and assessments being voiced and the heated debates taking place in an atmosphere of openness, or glasnost as we call it. We are still trying to better comprehend economic issues as well as socio-political, social, and international problems, all that is covered by the term perestroika, or restructuring. These two terms, perestroika and glasnost, are now understood by many in other countries without translation.

The concept of restructuring was defined by the Communist Party following a critical analysis, true to Leninist traditions, of the shortcomings that have accumulated over the past years and a mercilessly self-critical reappraisal. Whatever our opponents may conjecture, there is no getting away from the fact that it was we ourselves and our Communist Party that acknowledged our problems at the 27th CPSU Congress and the plenum of the CPSU Central Committee in January 1987. These problems largely arise from the fact that in the late 1970s and early 1980s the CPSU Central Committee and the leadership of the country failed, through a number of subjective factors, to realize in time and completely the need for changes, and the entire danger of accumulating crisis phenomena. The social potential the revolution generated was no longer employed effectively. Conservative sentiments and dogmatized and simplified notions of socialism prevailed in the making and conducting of policies. The formula "how to improve things without changing anything" took the upper hand in political life. The rejection of everything that would not fit into the usual patterns and an exaggerated notion of our achievements became habit.

Meanwhile the new stretch of historical development called for changes in practical work, in the theoretical and political way of thinking. That is only natural, for the establishment and development of a new social system is no idyll. Every stage of socialism is marked by tasks, problems, and contradictions peculiar to it. The current renewal of our notions of the economic forms of socialism and its social and political structures is therefore well-founded. The need for restructuring arises from the objective course of history.

Where does restructuring derive its strength and why are we confident that very soon its effects will begin to tell on our home affairs, the social sphere in particular, and on international relations in the easing of international tensions? Our confidence derives from the fact that restructuring relies above all on the living creativity of the masses and the all-round advancement of socialist democracy and popular self-government. It relies on the steadily growing role of intensive factors in the economy and a fusion of the gains of the scientific and technological revolution and a planned economy as well as the entire potential of socialism.

Restructuring provides for the introduction of total self-support and self-financing of factories and farms, state quality inspection, team and collective contracts, and reforms in health care and education. Under it, cooperative properly will no longer be underestimated and the right conditions will be created for its development. Individual enterprise is to be encouraged. Restructuring calls for a new approach to research and development. It gives top priority to the advancement of the social sphere in order to combine resolving large-scale problems with meeting the needs and requirements of every member of society and showing concern for his dignity.

Practical experience suggests that restructuring must not be confined to the economy, but rather, must extend to all spheres

of public life. Restructuring would be unthinkable without words and deeds corresponding and unless we manage to leave behind us the abnormal situation where a man says one thing and then does something entirely different. It puts on the order of the day developing criticism and self-criticism, promoting openness, reasserting the principles and norms of social justice, and vigorously ridding society of distortions of socialist moral values and patches of social corrosion.

Restructuring provides for broad prospects for initiative, encouraging talent, and promoting the search for things new. Mistakes, inevitable in any new undertaking, are possible. As we carry on with restructuring we address science and the arts to life itself and its requirements and problems. What we need is a persistent and uncompromising struggle of the new against the old, thinking that meets the requirements of the day against dogmatic aberration, the Leninist principles of management against red tape, commitment to high principles against unprincipledness, honesty against theft and embezzlement, an active social and political stand against passivity, and a healthy way of life against alcoholism and drug addiction.

We have resolved to elevate the Soviet economy to the world's highest standard of efficiency and scientific and technological progress. That is not an end in itself, but a means of assuring the right conditions for the growth of the people's prosperity, the all-round development of all members of society, and the satisfaction of the material and intellectual requirements of the people. The political system born in October 1917 has evolved the best prerequisites for developing democracy and popular initiative. Restructuring is extending that revolutionary Leninist spirit deeper into the life of the Party and the nation.

As was pointed out above we are expecting restructuring to bring good results on the international scene as well, for it has renewed the invitation to a peaceful competition between socialism and capitalism. The attitude of the U.S.S.R. toward international cooperation and the tasks of ensuring peace is a practical embodiment of the philosophy of peace. It has not been dictated by spur-of-the-moment considerations. On the contrary, it is an expression of the fundamental principle of our ideology and the most important element of the Soviet system of values. The ideals of peace advanced at the dawn of Soviet government in Lenin's Decree on Peace were enriched and given a new content by the 27th CPSU Congress to take account of the realities of the nuclear epoch. In this nuclear day and age, the thesis that war is a continuation of policy by other means holds no water; it is tantamount to total annihilation of everything on the face of the Earth, including politics. The congress enriched today's international affairs with a concept of comprehensive security that relies on thinking in new terms, whereby trust and peaceful coexistence are to become the fundamental principles of relations between all countries and peoples.

The world in which we live has become far too fragile and small for power politics. It cannot be saved unless we abandon once and for all a way of thinking that has for centuries looked upon wars and armed conflicts as something acceptable. The new political way of thinking relies above all on the profoundly humane idea that given the existence of thermonuclear weapons and their destructive capacity, the interests of all of mankind must prevail unconditionally over the interests of states, classes, nations, or ideologies.

As heirs to the October revolution, we declare that many customary views and conventional notions that perhaps held true thirty, twenty, and even ten years ago are now hopelessly out of date. In this nuclear age a world that has armed itself to the eyeballs and continues to arm itself is seriously threatened by a suicidal nuclear war, even if we assume that nobody wants that. Socialism is calling upon all countries, peoples, and governments to master the art and science of showing restraint and circumspection on the international scene without turning a blind eye to social, political, or ideological contradictions and of behaving in a civilized way.

The foundations of a comprehensive system of international security defined at the 27th CPSU Congress, a plan for eliminating nuclear and other weapons of mass extermination by the turn of the century and preventing the arms race from spreading to outer space, a programme of peace and cooperation in Asia and the Pacific, and proposals for setting regional conflicts in Central America and the Middle East, as well as other Soviet initiatives have created conditions conducive to reaching agreements if our opponents and partners in negotiations elect to cover their part of the way toward meeting the true wishes of the nations.

This appears to be all the more important since mankind has come to face a whole host of complicated problems that can only be resolved by acting together under the conditions of a guaranteed and lasting peace. The problems of ecology and energy have grown worse. The growing rift between a handful of highly developed capitalist nations and those developing nations, the vast majority, where poverty and hunger remain the lot of the popular masses, is fraught with grave consequences. These problems can only be resolved if the efforts and minds of all of mankind are put together to pace the way to new frontiers in advancing this civilization.

The march of history and social progress is demanding ever more imperatively that countries and people cooperate with each other in good faith in constructive endeavours around the world. It is also creating the right prerequisites for such cooperation. People the world over are becoming increasingly aware of the need to pool efforts in resolving pressing global problems and above all the problem of the survival of the human race. The real dialectics of contemporary history lies in the combination of competition between and opposition of the two systems and a growing trend toward interdependence of members of the world community. It is exactly through this competition and struggle of opposites that today's contradictory, but at the same time closely knit and largely integral world continues to tortuously evolve.

As the great Russian revolutionary democrat Nikolai Chernyshevski pointed out, the path of history is not the sidewalk of Nevski Prospect. Our achievements following the October Revolution are indisputable, but there have been other things as well. A dear price had to be paid for deviations from the Leninist methods and principles of building a new society, violations of socialist legality and the democratic norms of life in the Party and society, voluntaristic mistakes, dogmatic thinking, and inertia. While rightfully taking pride in the gains of socialism, which constitute the main part of our history, we have no intention of letting the trials, mistakes, and tragedies of the past sink into oblivion.

One more point must be emphasized in this context. Clearly succumbing to wishful thinking, some people in the West would like to read into the changes under way in the U.S.S.R. the "signs of deviation from socialism." We can reply to that quite firmly: hoping that the U.S.S.R. will abandon the path of socialism is groundless. Our slogan is more socialism, not less. The avenue of acceleration and restructuring and realizing the vital interests of the working people leads to exactly that goal. It can be reached only if there is peace on Earth; and, equally, progress of the human race is possible only if there is world peace. History has left us no other choice.

The ten days that shook the world draw farther into the past, but the extent of the effect of the Great October Revolution on the destiny of the human race, far from diminishing, continues to grow.

How does it actually manifest itself today? At the request of New Times, acclaimed Soviet social scientists answer that question in the articles below. The way we see it they reflect the principal trends of world development ascending to our revolution, but far from all of them, for the theme of the Great October Revolution that transformed today's world is as inexhaustible as is its revolutionary potential. ■

IN THE VANGUARD OF

The advancement of the human race along the path of economic, technological, cultural and social progress ultimately leads to a more perfect social system and creates conditions for the all-round development of the individual. In this day and age more and more people rightfully link progress with socialism, the advent of which was signalled by the cruiser Aurora in October 1917.

As we look back over the past 70 years we pay tribute above all to the historic accomplishments of socialism. The realization that they have been brought about by enormous effort does not diminish them at all; on the contrary, it adds to their weight. At times retreats followed attacks, and victories did not rule out defeats. Steps in the wrong direction were occasionally made on this unbeaten path, and as a result we at times lagged behind or moved forward too rapidly. It is necessary to view that process as an integral whole and analyze the origins of the accomplishments and problems that make it up. Unless it is done we won't be able to build upon our gains, remove or prevent the shortcomings, or overcome difficulties that lie ahead. Unless it is done, we won't be able to continue to move forward.

Let us go back to the starting point. The view was current at the time among the Bolsheviks and in the world revolutionary movement at large that the revolution in Russia was merely a prelude. It was thought that the proletariat in other countries, above all in the more developed capitalist countries of Europe, would follow in its footsteps. History judged otherwise. For many intertwined reasons the new society developed for a long time in just one country surrounded by capitalism. V. I. Lenin foresaw that possibility before the October revolution and he defended his point of view in a heated discussion with those who were unable or unwilling to accept it. He made an invaluable contribution to the creative plans for building socialism in this country and to beginning their implementation. But perhaps more importantly, his ideas and practical work armed his contemporaries and those who took over the building of a new society from them with the methodology of coping with the problems that keep arising as society moves forward.

The world's first socialist country encountered incredibly complicated problems. In 1917 it accounted for 16 per cent of the earth's territory, 8 per cent of the world population and less than 3 per cent of world industrial output. Clearly, Soviet Russia at the time could not be included in the league of economically advanced nations. In things political, however, it immediately left the most advanced bourgeois republics far behind. In a stormy ocean of world development there appeared an island where the new society, whose ideal had been evolved by many generations of revolutionaries, was given a historic chance to demonstrate its advantages in real terms.

Since then profound changes have

Leonid Yagodovsky, D. Sc. (Hist.), assistant director of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences Institute of the Economics of the World Socialist System.

THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BULGARIA

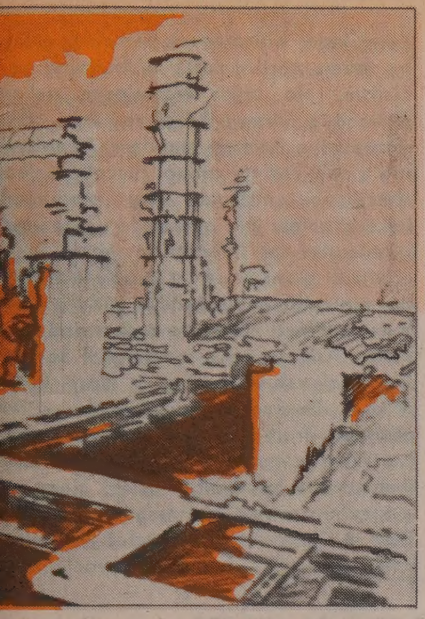
Territory—110,900 sq. km.
Population—8,968,000.
Capital—Sofia, 1,100,000.

September 9, 1944. A socialist revolution took place in Bulgaria.

September 8, 1946. The Bulgarian people voted in a referendum for abolishing the monarchy.

September 15, 1946. The proclamation of a people's republic in Bulgaria.

March 3. Anniversary of Bulgaria's liberation from the yoke of the Ottoman Empire (1878).



ISTORY

taken place in this country. Having withstood the trials of the foreign intervention and civil war, the socialist system became firmly established in the world's first state of workers and peasants. In the 1920s and 1930s the Soviet Union made giant strides in social, economic, and cultural development. The unparalleled effort of the people during the Great Patriotic War protected the good name, independence and freedom of the Soviet Union, and saved the country. A decisive contribution was made to delivering the human race from the plague of fascism. In the postwar years the Soviet Union rapidly dealt with the effects of the enormous devastation inflicted upon it by the war.

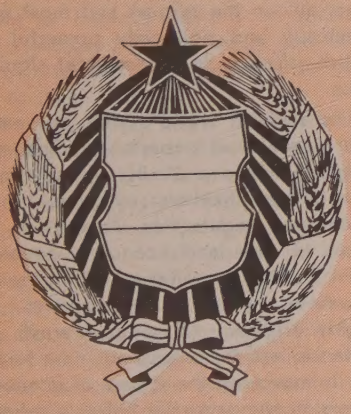
That was not an easy task, not only because the complexity, novelty, and scale of the problems to be resolved were great, but also because mistakes had been made, aberrations accepted as a norm, and deviations from Lenin's precepts had occurred. Paradoxical as it may seem, it was during this period of the Soviet Union's dynamic progress that the elements were evolved of the braking mechanism that led this country to stagnation in the 1970s and had an inevitable impact on the development of the socialist world as a whole.

The extension of socialism beyond the limits of one country was of primary importance among the processes whose net effect strengthened the new system and increased the political and economic part played by the Soviet Union in the world. Following the victory of a popular revolution in 1921, Mongolia began to develop in a non-capitalist way and make a gradual transition from the feudal system to socialism. In the mid-1940s people's democratic revolutions in Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Albania led these nations onto the path of building socialism. Somewhat later they were joined by the German Democratic Republic formed in 1949. During the same period events took the same course in Vietnam and in the north of the Korean peninsula. The triumph of the revolution in China was of enormous importance for the destiny of the entire world. Ten years later the Republic of Cuba joined the community of socialist nations.

Today the socialist countries account for 26 per cent of the earth's territory and 32 per cent of the world population. They have evolved a powerful economic, scientific, and military-political potential and account for about 40 per cent of world industrial output. Living standards in these countries have risen appreciably. It is perhaps more important than anything else that, as was said at the 27th CPSU Congress, socialism "has demonstrated its ability to resolve social problems on a fundamentally different basis than before, namely a collectivist basis, that it has brought the countries to higher levels of development, and has given the working people a decent and secure life."

Dialectics of the general and the particular

The evolution of socialism into a world system means that the general regularities peculiar to it that have been arrived at in theory and manifested in practical work for the first time, have



THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF HUNGARY

Territory—93,000 sq. km.
Population—10,622,000.
Capital—Budapest, 2,100,000.
April 4, 1945. Liberation Day marking the establishment of a people's democratic system in the country.
August 20, 1949. A people's republic was proclaimed in Hungary.

THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM

Territory—332,700 sq. km.
Population—62,000,000.
Capital—Hanoi, 2,600,000.
September 2, 1945. The Democratic Republic of Vietnam was proclaimed.
April 30, 1975. The territory of South Vietnam was taken over by the patriotic forces.
July 2, 1976. The state reunification of Vietnam and the proclamation of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Territory—108,300 sq. km.
Population—17,000,000.
Capital—Berlin, 1,200,000.
May 8, 1945. Liberation Day marking the liberation of the German people from fascism.
October 7, 1949. The formation of the German Democratic Republic.

been corroborated both by our successes and mistakes, have stood and continue to stand the tests they encounter on an international scale. It is only natural that as experience in such tests has been amassed, the understanding of these regularities changed, becoming more concrete. How are they understood today? One can judge by the new text of the CPSU Programme.

Among the essential features of the socialist way of development is the strengthening of the power of the working people with the working class playing the leading role. Among the central issues is the one of the Communist Party, armed with the ideology of scientific socialism, winning and constantly reasserting a position in society which enables it to steer its development. Assuring a planned economic growth—the benefits of which would accrue to all—on the basis of the domination of publicly owned property is a necessary condition. The share of every member of society in distribution and his or her activity in general must be governed increasingly by the principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work." The steady advancement of socialist democracy and the perfection and enrichment of its forms are of crucial importance. Every effort must be made to promote truly friendly relations between all nations and nationalities, naturally including ethnic minorities living in one country or another, and their equality in real terms must be put on an increasingly stronger political, economic, and cultural basis. And finally, it is necessary to maintain the capability of the socialist state to defend its revolutionary gains from the encroachments of the class enemy.

If we compare that understanding of the general regularities with what they appeared to be earlier, for instance, with the way in which they were spelt out in the Declaration of the 1957 Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties, we will see a notable change in the basic approach. That change amounts essentially to a greater degree of generalization as we no longer tend to canonize certain specific aspects of building socialism in the U.S.S.R.

That process can be considered quite natural and logical. Initially, the experience of this country was unique in the practice of building socialism. It can be readily understood why other nations, which embarked on the path of socialism later, went mainly by that experience. That approach derived from Lenin's idea that certain basic features of the revolution in Russia "have a significance that is not local, or peculiarly national, or Russian alone, but international." It is therefore a "historical inevitability" that they should be repeated.

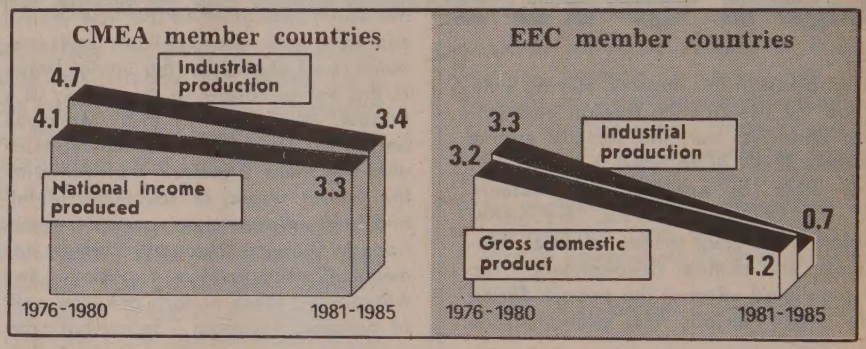
At the same time it can no longer be considered acceptable that during certain periods, and above all in the 1950s, the socialist countries of Europe, China and others in fact mechanically copied all that was being done in the Soviet Union. They copied many of our mistakes, excesses, misapprehensions, and deviations. We can no longer consider it acceptable that a condescending tone was adopted at times in dealing with the nations that had begun building a new society after us and that, where their experience differed from our own, suspicion arose. Nor can we consider it normal that attempts were made to "punish" one country or another for the real or imagined mistakes of its leadership, as was the case in the late 1940s, when relations with Yugoslavia were broken off.

All this amounts to nothing but abandoning the dialectics of the Leninist methodology. Lenin's ideas as quoted above would be misconstrued if one ignores his belief that uniformity and clichés are profoundly alien to socialism. He said that all nations would arrive at socialism in due course, but they would take different paths and each of them would introduce originality into the forms and methods of transformations.

Lenin linked the advent of integral socialism to a series of attempts, each of which would be one-sided and somewhat inadequate. Let us call attention to the fact that "every nation" and "every attempt" is meant here, for non-uniformity, originality, one-sidedness, and inadequacy are inevitable. They may arise from different degrees of the experience and vision—wisdom, if you like—of this or that ruling party. Non-uniformity and originality may also stem from different historical preconditions, and external and internal conditions under which every particular country meets certain tasks of building socialism. No one's experience taken separately may therefore be considered the ultimate standard. Developing a new society cannot succeed unless specific circumstances are accounted for and unless it is geared to its general regularities, to integral socialism.

It is of great practical importance that the dialectics of the general and the particular outlined above be understood correctly. Addressing a meeting of Soviet-Czechoslovak friendship in April 1987, Mikhail Gorbachev said that the CPSU proceeds from the view that no single party has a monopoly on the truth and that no one has a right to lay claim to a special position in the socialist world. That this approach, shared by all the fraternal parties, has been proclaimed by the CPSU—the most influential of them all—in the largest and most economically and politically powerful socialist nation is of fundamental significance.

ECONOMIC GROWTH RATES OF CMEA AND EEC
(annual increment in per cent)



The socialist world system has amassed a wealth of experience. One must single out above all the already mentioned crystallization of general principles and regularities, as well as the forms of state and economic development that have been tried out in various countries. Many of these forms are highly original. Of great interest, for instance, are the search for new formulas in improving the system of economic levers in Hungary, the G.D.R.'s reliance on industrial complexes as the basic element of industrial organization, the reforms in China's countryside, self-government in Yugoslavia, the setting up of the committees for the defence of the revolution in Cuba, and the organization of agro-industrial complexes in Bulgaria.

We have listed here a small number of such formulas, and the results they bring can be assessed in a variety of ways. All of them no doubt have positive and negative sides to them, but

even so they make for more approaches and forms that can be applied to social development.

There has been experience of a different nature, though. Let us recall, for instance, the political crises in the G.D.R., Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland and China. They did not follow the same pattern, nor did they arise from the same causes. But certain features common to all these events can be named. Evidently they were brought about by the mistakes made by the Communist parties and their leadership. These mistakes weakened their ability to control events and in some cases played into the hands of internal and external destabilizing forces. Clearly, it is not events of that nature that determine the overall trends in the development of fraternal nations or socialism as a whole; but the heroic and victorious march of socialism must not blind us to them.

It is especially clear today that the significance of the profound analysis and creative interpretation of the manifold experience amassed by various countries of world socialism has grown many times over. In his above-mentioned speech in Czechoslovakia Mikhail Gorbachev had every reason for emphasizing that a practical attitude to this issue is becoming one of the principal criteria for assessing the seriousness of one ruling Communist Party or another.

Forming relations of a new type

The strengthening of the socialist world system has been determined not only by the growth of the number of its components, but by the establishment of essentially new relations between them as well. Up until the 1930s it was believed in the communist movement that the nations embarking on the path of socialism should eventually become federated to the U.S.S.R. with a view to forming an integrated state relatively rapidly. The approach to resolving that problem began to change notably later on. Conditions were maturing in various parts of the world conducive to democratic revolutions and later to their transition to socialist revolutions. The view gradually began to prevail that this would inevitably lead to the emergence of a system of sovereign nations. Initially that was a purely theoretical interpretation of the issue, but in the mid-1940s it began to be made a reality. It became the order of the day that complicated problems be resolved not only in the sphere of ideology, but in relations between the socialist nations as well.

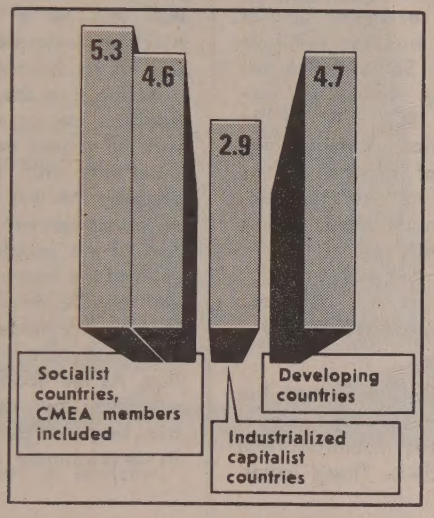
Ties between Communist parties were tested as part of that process. They acquired a new quality, having turned from the vanguard of the proletariat fighting for power into the political vanguard of a class that had won the leading positions in society. The foundations of new forms and methods of interaction between the bodies of power of states of the working people were laid. Qualitatively new multilateral political, economic and other organizations accumulating unique experience appeared. The principles of fraternal mutual assistance were formed, and the international socialist division of labour was emerging and improving. Scientific and cultural ties, contacts between public organizations, and new principles of discourse between people were also being established.

It must be noted that steady progress prevailed along all these avenues as the socialist world system was taking shape. However, it would be wrong to suppose that this was easy. The countries concerned differed greatly in their initial levels of development in the social, economic, political and cultural spheres and in their historical past. The contradictions carried over from the past could not be disregarded and there was no getting away from the fact that new contradictions were emerging. This suggested the possible existence of conflicting national and state interests. Our experience shows that failure to jointly account for factors of that nature in practical policy was one of the principal causes of complications in relations between some socialist countries.

At the initial stage of the establishment of the socialist world system, the political and defence aspects of cooperation were given top priority, above all due to the international situation of the day. The international standing of every new member of the socialist community had to be strengthened. The task was to have the newly formed people's democratic governments recognized internationally. The resistance of imperialism had to be overcome, for it would not reconcile itself with the extension of socialism beyond the limits of one nation and actively supported the internal reactionary forces in these countries. We had to join hands in order to rebuff imperialist attempts at splitting the nations that had embarked on the path of building socialism. The signing of treaties of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance, among other things, helped in this respect. By the end of the 1940s more than 30 such treaties had been signed between the European socialist countries, including the Soviet Union.

An important stage in strengthening the positions of socialism was ushered in by the formation in 1955 of the Warsaw Treaty Organization which largely finalized the military-political alliance of the fraternal socialist countries in Europe. A step in the same direction, albeit a belated one, was made in 1956-57 when treaties were signed on the temporary presence of Soviet troops in the territories of a number of socialist coun-

AVERAGE ANNUAL GROWTH RATES OF THE GROSS NATIONAL INCOME OVER 1971-85 (per cent)



SHARE OF THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES IN WORLD OUTPUT (per cent)

	1970	1985
Electric energy	23	26
Oil	18	28
Gas	22	41
Steel	30	38
Mineral fertilizer	33	43
Cement	30	38
Metal-cutting lathes	39	53
Tractors	47	58

tries in Central and Southeastern Europe. Such treaties were proposed in the declaration of the Soviet government on October 30, 1956, at the height of the counterrevolutionary events in Hungary.

Fraternal relations within the framework of the socialist system provide for consistent and unconditional recognition of the independence of each ruling Communist Party and its right to make sovereign decisions about its own activity and the development of its country. They provide, at the same time, for a voluntary readiness to show concern for common interests, to treat friends and allies respectfully and to duly account for their interests. The success of the community as a whole would be impossible without that. These are two aspects of a single process. While acknowledging that relationship, one cannot, however, accept the thesis advanced in the late 1960s to the effect that the parties are answerable for their activity to the community of socialist nations and the international communist and revolutionary movement. If the issue of responsibility is raised at all, each Communist Party is answerable solely to its own people.

Special care must be exercised with respect to the tradition of mutual trust between the fraternal parties. That tradition goes back to the activities of the First International founded by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels and has been enriched by the entire theoretical work and practical policy of Lenin. As the socialist world system was taking shape, trust between its members went through quite a few tests. There is every objective prerequisite now for preserving and strengthening it, and, in some cases, for restoring it. An important part is played here by a comradely discussion of any disputed issues on a footing of true equality, and the resolution of contradictions on an internationalist basis. It goes without saying, and this has been convincingly demonstrated by our past experience, that the accumulation of problems in relations must be avoided and whatever problems inherited from the past remain must be dealt with tactfully, but resolutely and boldly at the same time. It is harmful to hush up differences and allow blanks to remain in records of past or more recent history. One of the brilliant examples of that Leninist approach to building relations is the declaration on Soviet-Polish cooperation in ideology, science and culture signed in April 1987. It is not the only example. Relations between the Communist parties of fraternal nations have lately acquired new seminal features originating from initiatives of the leadership of the CPSU.

The economic foundation

We have so far hardly dealt with the issues involved in developing the economies of the socialist countries and their economic relations. These issues, however, merit particular attention, because they are central to the establishment and strengthening of the foundation of the entire system. The formation of national economic complexes has been a direct result of the development of the system of sovereign socialist nations. Economic cooperation between them was beginning to take shape, because the people's democratic republics formed in Europe and Asia had not had firm economic ties with each other, or with the Soviet Union, before that. At first, their traditional links with the industrialized capitalist countries were restored at a relatively rapid rate, but as soon as the socialist orientation of their social system began to manifest itself, the capitalist countries began to curtail economic ties with them. The cold war started by the West soon after that led to a prolonged economic blockade extended by the imperialist powers to the entire socialist system.

At the time the Soviet Union and the people's democratic states were faced with an urgent need to deal in a very short time with the enormous damage done by the war and ensure a dynamic economic growth. As far as the first part of the problem was concerned, in spite of the heavy losses inflicted by the war on the Soviet Union, it managed to extend fraternal assistance to the nations that joined the struggle for socialism. As the economy was being restored, trade between the socialist countries began to gather momentum. At first its development was rather limited, be-

THE REPUBLIC OF CUBA

Territory—110,900 sq. km.
Population—10,190,000.
Capital—Havana, about 2 million.

July 26, 1953—the storming of the Moncada army barracks marking the start of liberation struggle against the pro-American Batista dictatorship.

January 1, 1959—the overthrow of the dictatorship and a people's democratic, agrarian, anti-imperialist revolution.

April 16, 1961. Fidel Castro announced for the first time that the Cuban revolution is socialist.

THE MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

Territory—1,566,500 sq. km.
Population—1,965,000.
Capital—Ulan Bator, 500,000.

July 11, 1921—the victory of the anti-feudal, anti-imperialist, people's revolution.

November 26, 1924—the proclamation of a people's republic in Mongolia.

THE POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

Territory—312,700 sq. km.
Population—37,700,000.
Capital—Warsaw, 1,600,000.

July 22—Polish National Day. (1944).

In 1952 Poland was proclaimed a people's republic.

The CMEA headquarters in Moscow.

cause the agrarian and agro-industrial economic complexes of most of the nations that became part of the socialist system in the latter half of the 1940s had an almost identical production pattern.

The need to accelerate the rapprochement between them in the economic sphere among others finally led to the formation of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance in January 1949. It was an entirely new kind of economic organization. It was founded by Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Romania, the U.S.S.R. and Czechoslovakia and was joined later by the G.D.R. and Albania (the latter suspended its CMEA membership in 1961). At first the council coordinated mutual economic assistance, but very soon it began to organize many-sided economic ties between members of the socialist community. Vietnam, Mongolia and Cuba are now members of the CMEA. Yugoslavia actively participates in it on the basis of a special agreement. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Laos, Kampuchea, and a number of developing countries maintain close ties with the CMEA.

At the beginning of their cooperation the socialist countries of Central and Southeastern Europe placed the emphasis on industrial upbuilding. Major industrial facilities were set up, above all in the heavy industry sector, and the structure of production was improving. It was only natural that relatively backward countries attained the highest rates of industrial growth. Looking back on

THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ROMANIA

Territory—237,500 sq. km.
Population—22,900,000.
Capital—Bucharest, 2,200,000.

August 23, 1944—the overthrow of the military-fascist dictatorship.

December 30, 1947—the overthrow of the monarchy and the creation of the People's Republic of Romania.

August 21, 1965. Romania was proclaimed a socialist republic.

THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Territory—22,400,000 sq. km.
Population—281,700,000.
Capital—Moscow, 8,500,000.

November 7 (October 25 by the old calendar), 1917—the Great October Socialist Revolution took place.

December 30, 1922—the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

THE CZECHOSLOVAK SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

Territory—127,900 sq. km.
Population—15,555,000.
Capital—Prague, 1,200,000.

May 9, 1945—Liberation Day.

July 11, 1960—the proclamation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

that period now one can't help but see that the potential for laying the foundation of a profound division of labour within the CMEA was not utilized to the full. That was largely due to an insufficient analysis of the experience of industrialization in the U.S.S.R. The socialist transformation of farming was under way at the same time.

It was regarded as a matter of fundamental importance for laying the foundations of a new social system. Both the positive experience of the socialist nations and their mistakes that were in a way a repetition of the excesses that took place during the collectivization of farming in the U.S.S.R. confirmed that in putting farming on a cooperative basis it is necessary to adhere strictly to the Leninist principle of voluntary admission and avoid arbitrary methods of administration and coercion.

As has already been mentioned, economic cooperation between the socialist countries began with the development of trade. It expanded at the highest rate over the first 15-20 years. Today the exchange of goods between the CMEA countries stands at over 200 million rubles annually, a more than 40-fold increase over the initial figure. Economic, scientific and technical cooperation is likewise expanding. The Soviet Union, which has a more developed economy than the others, plays a leading role in it. The deliveries of Soviet-made equipment helped to create large capacities in the mining and power industries, establish a modern metallurgical industry, build big heavy-engineering, chemical and other plants in CMEA countries. The Soviet Union also provided them with extensive scientific and technological documentation practically free of charge.

At the end of the 1950s CMEA countries started to coordinate their five-year programmes. This was a major, qualitatively new step in their cooperation. By that time planned economy had been firmly established there, and a good deal of expertise, based largely on Soviet experience, accumulated. Direct contacts in planning served to place cooperation between them on a more stable and longer-term footing and helped all of them to utilize the advantages of the new way of production more fully. It must be noted, however, that not all relevant questions were dealt with at the beginning. Coordination in the investment policy, for instance, was clearly inadequate. As a matter of fact, too much attention is still paid to quantity only. Up till now, the negotiations followed an established pattern: in the coming years we shall give you a certain amount of oil and a certain type of cars and you'll give us a certain amount of maize and a certain type of lathes. This approach largely stems from the fact that in the Soviet Union, as in most other socialist countries planning is based on the material balance. It is clear, however, that, for all the existing shortcomings, coordinating the amount and range of deliveries when national five-year programmes are being drawn up, rather than afterwards, would make it possible to meet the requirements of the partners to a greater extent.

At the beginning of the 1970s, there arose an urgent need for socialist economic integration, i.e., for a clear-cut international division of labour and a drastic acceleration of the intertwining of national economic complexes. The process marked a new stage in the cooperation between the socialist countries, amounting in effect to heading for a practical internationalization of production within the community.

Much has already been achieved. There now exists a system of multilateral and bilateral specialization and co-production agreements. Joint construction of big industrial projects has become common practice. Lately much attention has been paid to promoting direct links between separate enterprises and industrial amalgamations along production and scientific lines in different socialist countries, and establishing mixed economic organizations.

Yet the degree of integration registered to date is not satisfactory. Goods produced on the basis of specialization and co-production make up a relatively small part in the overall volume of trade. At any rate these goods do not determine the trade pattern. Each of the CMEA countries, including those with small economies, continue to produce the whole range of manufactured goods, or a considerable part of it. This shows that the advantages offered by the socialist international division of labour are not used effectively. Many products are manufactured without using components produced in other socialist countries, although this does not go for raw materials which most CMEA members lack. This, hardly a progressive system of dividing labour, prevails in exchanges between the Soviet Union and European members of the CMEA which largely get energy, fuel and primary raw materials, supplying the Soviet Union in turn with finished products and above all machine tools and equipment. That the degree of integration is low is confirmed by the absence, to all intents and purposes, of a system of multilateral settlements, and underdeveloped credit relations.

How can these weak points in our cooperation be explained? Above all they are due to the internal economic problems of the fraternal countries. There can be no doubt at all that the socialist countries taken together have been the most dynamically developing sector of the world economy, but there is no getting away from the fact that in the past decade essential improvements in the structure of production and a drastic rise in its efficiency were not attained. In many branches the output is far below the best world standards. That is the reason why a considerable part of our manufactured goods is not competitive enough on external markets. Failure to deal with the above problems led to a decline in the growth rates of most socialist countries in the

GROWTH OF REAL PER CAPITA INCOMES

(1970 = 100)

	1975	1980	1985
Bulgaria	132	150	179
Hungary	125	136	147
G.D.R.	131	163	198
Mongolia	117	134	150
Poland	152	176	153
Romania	139	179	193
U.S.S.R.	124	151	162
Czechoslovakia	122	129	136

DYNAMICS OF PER CAPITA GROWTH OF PUBLIC CONSUMPTION FUNDS

(1970 = 100)

	1975	1980	1985
Bulgaria	146	182	303
Hungary	174	303	485
G.D.R.	143	204	347
Mongolia	146	180	204
Poland	175	326	1,538
U.S.S.R.	135	168	201
Czechoslovakia	148	184	236

late 1970s and early 1980s, economic imbalances, and greater debts.

We are still lagging behind in intensifying the economy and adjusting the economic mechanism to the requirements of the new stage in the development of socialism. This goes for the Soviet Union as well. Stagnation phenomena in Soviet society over the past 10-15 years extended to its economy and had an inevitable effect on the development of the socialist community and processes of integration.

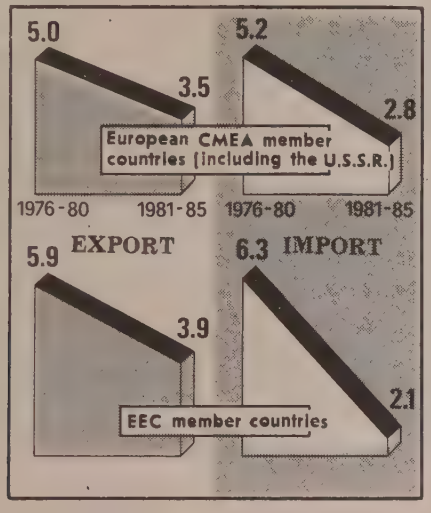
The accumulation of deficits in the Soviet economy has led to serious problems in expanding export funds. Between 1975 and 1985 that problem was alleviated, although not resolved, by the constant rise in oil prices and the prices of other energy products and raw materials. We could expand purchases in socialist countries without expanding our exports significantly. But as soon as oil prices began to decline the problem assumed its full dimensions and the effects of smaller share of machinery and equipment in Soviet exports began to tell. The process reflected a faster growth of prices of fuel and raw materials as compared with other goods, as well as oversights in the machine-building industry, and in the research and development and introduction of some high technologies. As a result, our position in the market of farm machines and trucks has deteriorated and we face the danger of finding ourselves in a similar position with regard to some types of aircraft. Insufficiently high rates of progress in science and technology in the Soviet Union adversely affect its cooperation with socialist countries.

Under the circumstances, our planning bodies tended to lose interest in exports, because they increased the shortage of some goods, and began to stake on imports, because they helped to patch the holes. The causes for this should be sought in the imbalance between production and the sale of goods produced. In the foreign markets this imbalance is even greater than in the home market, a situation that is the upshot of the excessive centralization of economic management, with virfual substitution of the state monopoly of foreign trade by the monopoly of foreign trade departments.

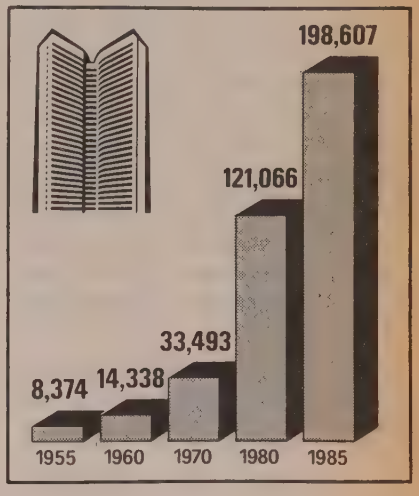
It has been fully realized now that this kind of situation can no longer be tolerated. The CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government are carrying out a dramatic reform of the entire system of running foreign trade. The overcentralization of that system has been dismantled and a large number of producfion associations have been given the right to operate on the external market on their own. Legislative norms were adopted in January 1987 to regulate joint ventures. In this way conditions have been created for more intensive development of integrational ties with socialist nations. It does not appear to be enough, however, to reorganize management or give enterprises more rights. All these changes will remain on paper unless the immediate participants in exchanges are motivated to introduce them. Their motivation will not be sufficient unless the right economic preconditions are generated. The entire system of production must be put on a new economic footing, radical reforms must be introduced in planning, raw materials and equipment supply, pricing policy and the system of credit and finance; and the organizational systems of management must be restructured throughout. The introduction of the new economic mechanism in keeping with the decisions of the June 1987 plenum of the CPSU Central Committee is an essential condition for real progress in economic cooperation between the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries.

There are factors slowing down the process of integration in other members of the CMEA as well. One can single out, for instance, the system of economic motivation in some of them which is parallel to our own and is therefore incompatible with it; they tend to expand their import from the U.S.S.R. and at the same time restrict their export to this country by keeping it at the level attained, which is very often against the interests of enterprises. That policy is in most cases linked to the need to maintain supplies to the capitalist market at a maximum in order to service hard currency debts and buy materials and equipment that can only be obtained in the West.

AVERAGE ANNUAL GROWTH RATES OF FOREIGN TRADE VOLUME (per cent)



MUTUAL TRADE TURNOVER OF CMEA MEMBERS (mln. rubles)



Gathering momentum

There is an understanding throughout the socialist world of the need to introduce cardinal changes into the system of cooperation between fraternal countries. This has been confirmed by the decisions of the 1984 economic summit. Another fundamental development was the signing in 1985 of the Comprehensive Programme for the scientific and technological progress of CMEA members until the year 2000. Major joint programmes are already under way or at the stage of preparation. The idea is to promote multilateral cooperation in the key areas of machine building, nuclear power engineering, and electronics. The agenda is topped by the need to pool efforts in developing and introducing equipment and technologies capable of dramatically raising the efficiency of the utilization of all kinds of resources. At their meeting in 1986 the leaders of the fraternal parties acknowledged the need to carry out a package of measures to promote integration and progressive forms of cooperation. A long-

term concept of developing economic ties is being drawn up. Preparations are under way for a restructuring of all CMEA bodies.

The issue of extending economic assistance to less developed socialist countries is also in the focus of attention. The most important thing here is to make it more efficient and enhance its collective nature, while at the same time providing those who receive and extend assistance with greater incentives.

The latter half of the 1970s saw the start of a gradually accelerating process of normalizing relations between the Soviet Union and the European socialist countries on the one hand, and the People's Republic of China, on the other. By that time China had largely overcome the effects of the upheavals of the "cultural revolution" and embarked on reforms which stabilized and subsequently considerably improved the social and economic position of that country. The Chinese economy has been developing dynamically in the 1980s, although there have been contradictions in that process.

It follows from the entire past experience of the socialist countries that drawing closer together and maintaining all-round cooperation is an objective need for them. This is due to the internationalist nature of their social systems, which are of the same type, the same principal trends and regularities as well as the ultimate goals of their development; other factors are the advantages offered by the pooling of efforts in building and defending a new society, and in the struggle for peace and international security, as well as the historic significance for them of the outcome of the competition between the two world systems.

The main guidelines for economic and social development until the year 2000 drawn up in this country and most other socialist nations envisage dramatic economic progress. The top priority is, as a rule, given to improving qualitative rather than quantitative parameters, reconstructing and modernizing standing production capacities rather than creating new ones, and promoting better production structures rather than pressing for the growth of everything under the Sun. A restructuring of the economic mechanism and radical reforms are called for to impart an initial acceleration to progress in this direction, given the shortages of resources at present. Meeting these tasks largely depends on promoting cooperation between the socialist countries. There can be no doubt at all that it must, in turn, help them to draw closer together.

The position of socialism in the world at the end of the century will largely depend on how successfully these plans are implemented.

As was pointed out at the 27th CPSU Congress, our Party proceeds from the view that "the destinies of peace and social progress are now linked closer than ever before with the **dynamic character of the socialist system's world economic and political development.**" The Party is guided by that assessment in defining the principal aims and avenues of its international policy. That is why it attaches top priority to strengthening mutual understanding and comradely relations with the Communist parties of the socialist countries and promoting friendly ties between the Soviet Union and other socialist nations. The process of restructuring in the Soviet Union is a weighty contribution to the overall positive process of renewal, which, in spite of outstanding problems, is gathering momentum in the socialist world.

■

THE PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA

Territory—28,700 sq. km.
Population—3,000,000.
Capital—Tirana, 270,000.
November 29, 1944—Albania was liberated from the nazis.
January 11, 1946—Albania was proclaimed a people's republic.

THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KAMPUCHEA

Territory—181,000 sq. km.
Population—7,500,000.
Capital—Pnom Penh, about 700,000.
November 9, 1953—the proclamation of independent Cambodia.
January 11, 1979—the People's Republic of Kampuchea was proclaimed.

THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

Territory—9,600,000 sq. km.
Population—1 billion 60 million.
Capital—Peking, 9,450,000.
October 1, 1949—the People's Republic of China was formed.

CAPITALIST WORLD

FORCED TO MAKE CONCESSIONS

MARK SHKUNDIN

The position of the working people of capitalist countries in the struggle for their rights was consolidated by the emergence of the world's first state of workers and peasants. The capitalists were compelled to make concessions in the social sphere.

The organized struggle of the proletariat for more extensive political rights, for better working conditions and living standards was started in the middle of last century. As capitalist production became more complex and developed, industrialists were more interested objectively in having a skilled, healthy and literate work force. But any improvement in the material position of the working people, all the more so the sealing of their social and civil rights by law, virtually had to be wrested by the working-class movement from the bourgeoisie. Partial concessions were achieved by the working people of a number of West European countries—Germany, Britain, France. Pensions for workers were introduced on a small scale. Limited compensation for occupational injury was provided. But on the whole the oppressed position of the working people of capitalist countries had changed little by the second decade of the 20th century.

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The correlation of forces in the class struggle changed radically with the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia. As a leader of the French working class, Waldeck Rochet, wrote, "it knocked down the hierarchy of political and social values on which the whole world rested.... The mainstays of human life were renewed. All problems were formulated in a different way." Socialization of the means of production, democratization of production relations, extension of trade union rights, reconstruction of the system of social insurance, free health services and public education—all these tangible advantages of socialism gave great thrust of the political and economic struggle of the broad masses of the working people in capitalist countries.

Political lesson

Afraid of losing political power, the bourgeoisie was compelled to make

THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA

Territory—121,200 sq. km.
Population—more than 20 million.
Capital—Pyongyang, 1,500,000.
August 1945—Korea was liberated from Japanese colonial domination.
September 9, 1948—the proclamation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

THE LAO PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Territory—236,800 sq. km.
Population—3,600,000.
Capital—Vientiane, about 380,000.
October 12, 1945—proclamation of independence.
December 1-2, 1975—the overthrow of the monarchy and the proclamation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic.

THE SOCIALIST FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA

Territory—255,800 sq. km.
Population—23,200,000.
Capital—Belgrade, 1,500,000.
November 29, 1945—the overthrow of the monarchy and the proclamation of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia. Since 1963—the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

social and political reforms. V. I. Lenin noted that any substantial reform was a by-product of a revolution. A wave of bourgeois reformism that swept the capitalist world following the October revolution was precisely such a by-product. It was a serious political lesson for the bourgeoisie, and it brought about a transition from the power approach to more refined methods of preserving the domination of their class. The Communist parties that came into being in Western countries regarded Soviet Russia as the dream of the founders of Marxism come true. Bourgeois democratic parties and progressive organizations were also closely following the political, economic, and social transformations in the young Land of Soviets. Our experience in solving the problem of nationalities evoked particular interest among the world community.

Inspired by the example of the workers of revolutionary Russia, the working people in many countries achieved important political gains immediately after the October revolution. Property and status qualification for voting no longer applied, and universal equal suffrage for men was introduced in 1918 in Denmark and Great Britain, in 1919 in Belgium and the Netherlands and in 1921 in Norway and Sweden. Suffrage was extended to such previously rightless strata of the working people as domestics and farmhands. Owners of extensive property and landlords were stripped of so-called "extra votes" at the same time.

The minimum voting age was lowered in 1919 in Austria, Belgium, Germany, Italy. Suffrage was conferred on women for the first time in 1918 in Denmark and Great Britain, in 1919 in Austria and Belgium, in 1920 in the United States, in 1921 in Sweden and Norway and in 1922 in the Netherlands. This led immediately to an increase in the number of people with the right to vote from 38 to 85.9 per cent of the adult population in Austria, from 29.3 to 74.8 per cent in Great Britain, from 38.7 to 97.9 per cent in Germany, from 30.1 to 69.1 per cent in Denmark....

Economic gains

The overall democratic upsurge in the West also manifested itself in the unprecedented growth of the trade union movement. Working people in capitalist countries were flocking into the trade unions, regarding them above all as the most effective instrument for protecting their economic rights. The membership of trade unions in developed capitalist countries had tripled by the late 1920s, rising from 15 to 45 million. The number of trade unionists increased by 1.4 times in Great Britain, 1.9 times in the United States, 2.4 times in Sweden, 2.9 times in Austria, 3.2 times in Denmark, 7.7 times in Germany, 8 times in France and 13 times in Italy.

For the first time after many decades of struggle, the proletariat of the West won the right to an eight-hour workday (in 1918 in Germany and in 1919 in France) and the right to a paid vacation. Old-age pensions were established by law in 1919 in Italy, in 1921 in Denmark, in 1924 in Belgium, in 1925 in Great Britain, and in 1927 in Austria. Minimum wages were legislatively set in a number of countries. Compulsory schooling was introduced or extended on workers' demand in the U.S. (1918), Great Britain (1918), Italy (1923). Insurance for sickness and disability was introduced under pressure from the working people in Italy in 1928 and in the Netherlands in 1929.

The scope of various social insurance systems in the 1920s widened to a greater degree than ever before in the struggle of the working class for its economic and social rights. The number of people getting old-age pensions increased from two to 43 per cent of the given age group in Austria, from 29 to 51 per cent in Belgium, from two to 38 per cent in Italy, and from eleven to 36 per cent in France. While prior to the first world war old-age pensions did not exist at all in Great Britain, Denmark, the Netherlands and Sweden, in the 1920s the percentage of people regularly receiving old-age pensions, though not large ones, made up 82, 95, 58 and 100 per cent respectively. The percentage of factory and office workers and members of their families to whom insurance for sickness and disability applied increased from 22 to 59 per cent in Austria, from eleven to 33 per cent in Belgium, from 66 to 82 per cent in Great Britain, from 21 to 69 per cent in Switzerland.

Trade unionists also wrested from the capitalists such an unprecedented and important concession as unemployment insurance. In Austria, Germany, Italy, Finland, where it did not exist at all prior to the first world war, approximately one third of all the workers of those countries became eligible for that benefit.

Trade unions also achieved a shorter working week with a certain increase in

COUNTRIES THAT HAVE FREED THEMSELVES FROM COLONIALISM[1]

EUROPE

Country	Capital	Area (in thous. sq. km.)	Present population (in mln.)[2]	Date of the proclamation of independence
1	2	3	4	5
Ireland (Eire)	Dublin	70	3.5	December 6, 1921
Malta	Valletta	0.3	0.38	September 21, 1964

[1] In this and subsequent tables, countries which have got their independence after 1917 are indicated.

[2] According to U.N. estimates as of June 1987.

real wages. By 1930 the wages of industrial workers in Great Britain and France had increased by approximately a quarter over the 1910 level.

Postwar wave

The Great Depression of the 1930s became another lesson in history for millions of working people in capitalist countries. The London Times then admitted that "when the West was floundering in spasms of unemployment, depression and financial crisis, in Russia new state, new workers' state was making substantial progress in industrial and cultural field."

The Soviet Union's prestige was greatly enhanced by the success of the first Soviet five-year plans. Not only representatives of the left progressive forces, but a considerable number of bourgeois liberals were immensely interested in Soviet experience in planning. Elimination of unemployment, real guarantees of the rights and interests of the working people, improvement of the standard of living in the U.S.S.R. sharply contrasted with the privations suffered by those who were made redundant by the world crisis.

The political and social turmoil among the masses forced the bourgeoisie to choose between reforms to lessen the protests of the masses if only by small concessions and fascist dictatorship. Wherever the authoritarian tendency prevailed, the political, social and economic gains of the working people were liquidated, and the working-class movement was crushed. Wherever the ruling classes resorted to social manoeuvring, there was substantial improvement in the material position of the working people.

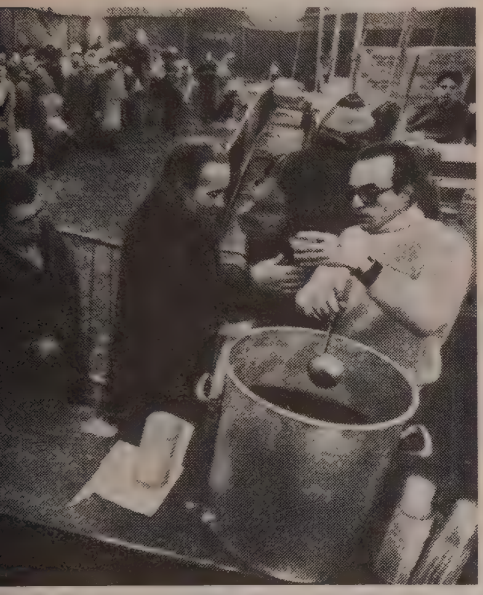
The bourgeois state whose role in the economy increased radically carried out partial redistribution of social wealth in favour of the working people. State social expenditure in Great Britain, for instance, grew from 4.2 to 10.4 per cent of the gross domestic product between 1913 and 1938. Particularly significant changes took place in the U.S., where the administration had virtually no social programme before the world economic crisis of the late 1920s. The legislation under the so-called New Deal was adopted in the U.S. in the period between 1932 and 1939. It was based on the principle of social responsibility of the state for its citizens' welfare. And though that policy objectively runs counter to the principle of capitalist free enterprise, the ruling circles had to make recourse to it to prevent the pent-up steam of workers' discontent from bursting the boiler.

The second world war arrested the advance of the proletariat in the class struggle in defence of its social interests, as the common goal of defeating fascism came to the fore. But that advance was resumed on an even broader scale after the victory of the anti-Hitler coalition in the second world war, after the routing of Hitler fascism and Japanese militarism. The upsurge of the democratic movement led to a substantial rise in the social, economic and political gains of the working people. A new stage in the development of social law set in in many capitalist countries.

In a number of West European countries (for instance, Italy and France), where the large bourgeoisie had committed itself collaborating with the Hitler occupiers, hatred for the collaborationists rallied the working people in the struggle against the very reign of capital. And the ruling circles again resorted to political and social manoeuvring, making new concessions to the working people. Provisions on the right to work, equal pay for equal work, defence of the interests of the working people by trade unions, equal rights for men and women, the right to rest, to get an education, to be provided for in old age were included in the legislation.

Suffrage was conferred on women in France (1945) and in Italy (1946). The minimum voting age was lowered to 21-23 years in the Netherlands and Sweden in 1945, in Denmark in 1952. This resulted in a still greater increase in the number of people with the right to vote than in the prewar years. The number of voters accounted for 91.5 per cent of the capable population in Belgium (in the 1949 elections), 97.6 per cent in Great Britain (1951), 86.7 per cent in Denmark (1945), 95 per cent in Italy (1946), 90 per cent in the Netherlands (1946).

(Continued on p. 18)



"I am the happiest person on earth," the owner of this home by the road in the British "welfare state" said with bitter irony.

Just as in the long-gone times when the working people in France could only dream of a state welfare system, many thousands of unemployed and homeless now have to be content with a bowl of soup provided by charities.

Aspiring to lead the capitalist world in scientific and technological progress, Japan shows little concern for the aged.

Canada
U.S.A.
G.D.R.
Poland
Czechoslovakia
Hungary
Romania
Yugoslavia
Bulgaria
Albania
Turkey
Tunisia
Israel
Morocco
Algeria
Libya
Egypt
Mexico
Cuba
The Bahamas
The Dominican Republic
Belize
Jamaica
Haiti
Barbados
Trinidad and Tobago
Guyana
Surinam
Guatemala
El Salvador
Honduras
Nicaragua
Costa Rica
Panama
Cabo Verde
Mauritania
Mali
Niger
Chad
Sudan
Senegal
Gambia
Guinea-Bissau
Guinea
Sierra Leone
Liberia
Côte-d'Ivoire
Nigeria
C.A.R.
Burkina Faso
Ghana
Togo
Benin
Cameroon
São Tomé and Principe
Equatorial Guinea
Gabon
The Congo
Zaire
Angola
Zambia
Namibia (occupied by South Africa)
South Africa
Botswana
Lesotho
Venezuela
Colombia
Ecuador
Peru
Bolivia
Paraguay
Chile
Brazil
Uruguay
Argentina
SOCIALIST
COUNTRIES
THEMSELVES
SINCE 1917

E FREED
OLONIALISM

The left forces achieved broad nationalization of enterprises and democratization of production relations for the first time in history in a number of West European countries. All large enterprises for the production of gas and electricity, and the largest insurance companies were nationalized in France. The law on committees at enterprises, which for the first time enabled French workers to take part in management, was adopted. Large-scale nationalization of industry and banks was carried out in Austria. A new law on production councils granted representatives of the Austrian working class the right to participate in factory management. The principle of worker representation at enterprises was legally established in the F.R.G. In Italy it became the practice to register this principle in collective bargaining agreements. A number of key industries were nationalized in Great Britain, and the British trade unions were given the right to participate in the management of state-owned enterprises.

The owners of industrial enterprises were compelled to take a number of labour safety and health protection measures. Industrial accident insurance was introduced in France and Great Britain in 1946, disability pensions were introduced in Belgium in 1944, old-age pensions in Switzerland in 1946, unemployment benefits in Belgium in 1944 and in the Netherlands in 1949. The standard working week was further shortened. It was reduced in the U.S. from 48 hours in 1930 to 40 hours in 1950, in Western Europe from 56 to 48. West European trade unions achieved an increase in paid vacation time up to two-four weeks.

Because of the arms race unleashed by imperialism in the postwar years, socialist countries too had to set aside considerable resources to meet defence requirements. This fact and also certain errors in national economic planning plus the lag in the development of the industries decisive for the scientific and technological progress lessened considerably the material potential for realizing the social advantages of socialism. Nevertheless, free health services, education, large-scale housing construction, state maintenance of the aged and disabled signified the real implementation of the proclaimed principles of social justice recorded in the Constitution.

Time-serving tactic

Adjusting to new conditions of competition between the two world systems, the ruling circles of the developed capitalist countries, with the economic situation of the 1950s and the 1960s favourable for them, made considerable concessions to the working people. Playing on the actual granting of the most vital social and economic demands, bourgeois ideologists tried to spread among the population illusions of peace among the classes, promising universal prosperity. They even coined the term "people's capitalism."

But more and more people are coming to see that increased housing construction, improvement of health services, education and the pension system for the working people, relief for the needy, and other forms of social activity of the bourgeois state in that period were not at all a manifestation of the good will of the monopolists, but a result of pressure from the working class, aware as it is of and appreciating as it does the social example set by the Soviet Union, the land of real socialism. "Were it not for the Soviet challenge, we would have neither the Beveridge Plan [for social security of the working people and public health—M.K.] nor the postwar welfare state," wrote The Times.

The Soviet Union's success in the peaceful use of nuclear energy, its trailblazing in space exploration, the victory of the revolution in Cuba made a great impression on all strata of Western society. This also brought about changes in the social and economic policy and the foreign policy of capitalist countries, with the ruling classes in the West greatly increasing allocations for vocational training, secondary and higher education, and science. That was why precisely in that period Washington came up with its doctrine of Alliance for Progress for Latin America. And that is why the liberal bourgeoisie pays special attention to problems of the Third World. The success of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries "serves as a guide for the broad masses of the working people, opens new prospects for them, gives them new faith in the possibility of seeing their striving for prosperity, freedom and peace fulfilled," Palmiro Togliatti said at the 10th Congress of the Italian Communist Party in 1962.

Class revenge

The relationship between the dynamics of the development of the first workers' and peasants' state manifested itself in the past decade not only in its positive but also in its negative aspect. The gradual decrease in the rates of growth of the Soviet economy that started 15 years ago, the slowing of scientific and technological development affected the social infrastructure.

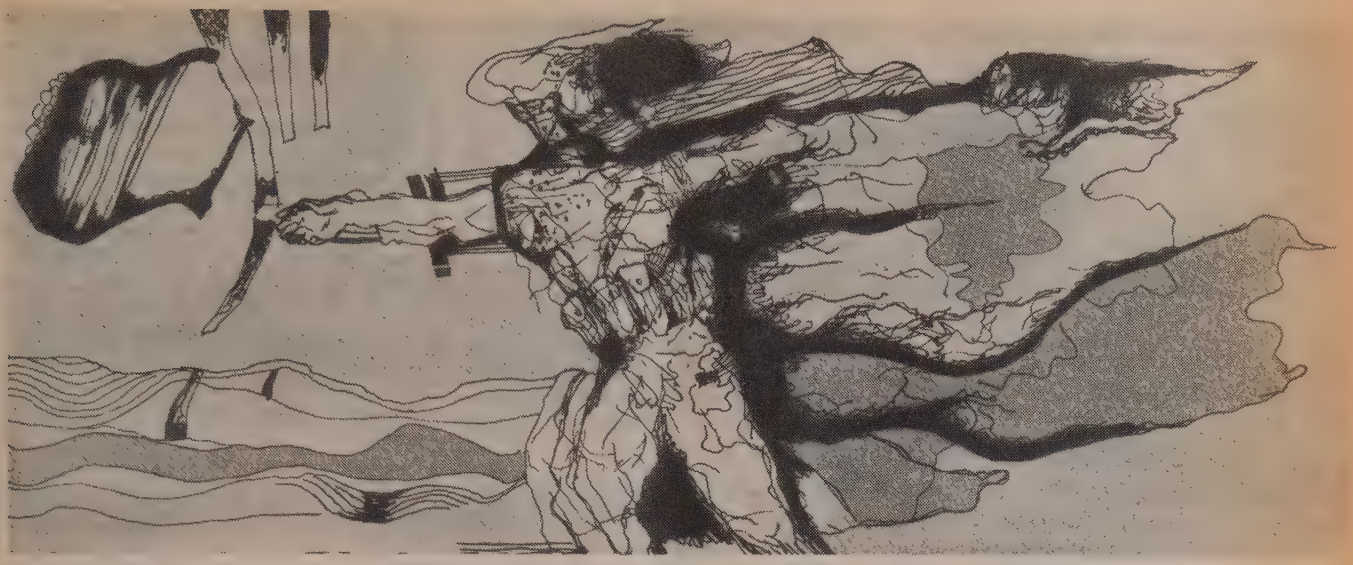
Bourgeois ideologists were going out of their way to convince the working people in the West that "real socialism had lost its momentum, its force as a positive example." And the monopolists tried to take advantage of our domestic difficulties so as on the threshold of the 1970s-1980s to put massed military, political, economic and psychological pressure on world socialism.

The monopolists set out to take revenge within their own countries. The beginning of this decade saw unprecedented attacks by the state and monopoly quarters on the economic and social gains of the proletariat, attacks of a viciousness unheard of since the war: the hounding of trade unions, the sale of nationalized enterprises and the municipal housing stock into private hands, wage freezes and cuts, the curtailment of social programmes were combined with the rampages of political reaction and a return to the policy from the positions of strength with regard to the working class. Anti-communist and anti-Soviet propaganda, the effort to impose on Western society the image of an enemy that can only be defeated if there is military superiority assumed unprecedented scale.

But the ruling circles of the West underestimated the ability of socialism to take a critical attitude towards its successes and failures, revamp economic and social structures in keeping with new requirements, speed up scientific and technological development. They also failed to take into consideration that, although developed capitalist countries still have an edge on socialist countries in a number of indexes reflecting the population's material standing, the West lags behind us in the historically decisive issue of social equality.

The immense interest on the part of all strata of the population of Western countries in the reorganization started in the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries, in the democratization of economic and political structures, which must bring us to new milestones of social progress, is therefore only natural. Lenin's thought that socialism would be exerting the main influence on world revolutionary processes through its economic successes has proven correct at the present stage of the competition between the two world systems.

Showing the true humanism of its entire way of life, socialism has been a powerful motive force for global social progress for seven decades now. Socialism is showing what potential the productive forces can have on the threshold of the 21st century, if they are aimed at meeting man's requirements to a greater extent. ■



ALONG THE ROAD OF FREEDOM

IVAN KOROLYOV

The October Revolution in Russia gave great impetus to the national liberation movement of all the oppressed peoples of Asia. Under its impact the edifice of colonial and semicolonial enslavement that was erected on that continent over many centuries split and would finally disintegrate after the rout of German fascism and Japanese militarism in the second world war.

The young Soviet republic, in Lenin's words, "must now muster all the awakening peoples of the East and, together with them, wage a struggle against international imperialism. We shall exert every effort to foster association and merger with the Mongolians, Persians, Indians, Egyptians. We believe this our duty, and in our interests to do this, for otherwise socialism in Europe will not be secured."

The principles of self-determination of nations, advanced by revolutionary Russia, facilitated a rapid awakening of Asia, which was almost entirely in a state of colonial or semicolonial dependence on imperialism. And that process was set in motion by the first Russian Revolution of 1905-1907.

So the October Revolution stirred the world's largest continent from its Western to its Eastern boundaries. The address of the Council of People's Commissars to all working Moslems of Russia and the Orient, signed by V. I. Lenin, was heard by Asian peoples. The call from Moscow was resounding throughout the Asian continent: "Moslems of the Orient, Persians and Turks, Arabs and Hindus, all whose lives and whose property, whose freedom and motherland were bought and sold by greedy predators of Europe.... Overthrow these predators and enslavers of your countries...."

By its Decree on Peace, the new Russia announced the abrogation of all the tsar's secret treaties with Western countries. This meant above all the annulment of agreements directed against the interests of Russia's southern neighbours — Afghanistan, Iran and Turkey.

The October Revolution created the conditions for Afghanistan proclaiming its political independence of Great Britain in February 1919. Young Soviet Russia was the first to recognize the sovereignty of the Afghan state. In its turn, Afghanistan was the first to recognize the Soviet republic. Head of the independent Afghan state, Amanullah Khan, sent a letter to V. I. Lenin proposing the establishment of friendly relations between the two countries. The Soviet government's reply, signed by Lenin, said that the establishment of stable relations between the two great peoples would create broad opportunities for mutual assistance to repulse any encroachment by foreign predators on their freedom or property. A treaty of friendship between the Russian Federation and Afghanistan was concluded in February 1921. The treaty specifically provided for material assistance from the young Soviet republic to its southern neighbour. That was the first equitable treaty ever concluded by Kabul with a great power.

With the backing of the Soviet state, Afghanistan then successfully repulsed the military and political onslaught of colonialism. Today, too, the Soviet Union renders assistance to the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan in protecting its sovereignty from outside encroachments, in upholding the gains of the 1978 April revolution. The Soviet Union strongly supports the Afghan leadership's course of national reconciliation.

The assistance rendered by the Soviet state, and the very fact of its existence, largely promoted the success of the national liberation struggle of the Turkish people, the recognition in the context of international law of the Turkish Republic, proclaimed in 1923, and of its first government headed by Kemal Atatürk. Later, in the 1930s, the Soviet Union financed to a considerable degree Turkey's first plan of industrial construction.

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Moscow's annulment of agreements limiting the right of the Persian people to free and independent existence enabled Iran (Persia till 1935) to break all shackling treaties with foreign powers. An equitable treaty was concluded by Soviet Russia and Iran in 1921. The Russian Federation's People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs Georgi Chicherin wrote the following to the plenipotentiary representative of the Russian Federation in Iran on January 9, 1922: "We see our role and our calling in being natural and disinterested friends and allies to the nations waging the struggle to ensure their complete independence and political development."

Soviet Russia's support for Afghanistan, Iran, Turkey, its establishment of equal relations with them naturally incensed the imperialists, who have always viewed the Orient as their own private domain. In May 1923, the British government sent Moscow an unprecedented document that came to be known as the "Curzon ultimatum." In that document Great Britain brazenly demanded no more no less than the recalling of Soviet representatives from Oriental countries. It goes without saying that the demarche could only bring disgrace to those who made it.

The Soviet Union continued supporting the anti-imperialist struggle, the struggle for the freedom and indepenaence of various countries and peoples. In 1926 the Soviet government was the first to recognize the sovereignty of a state formed on the Arabian Peninsula, a state later to be named Saudi Arabia. In 1928 the Soviet Union concluded a treaty of friendship and trade with Yemen. In the summer of 1944, the Soviet Union was the first to recognize Syria and Lebanon, as independent states even before foreign troops had been withdrawn from those countries.

In the prewar period, the Land of Soviets certainly had only a limited possibility of rendering support to national liberation movements, and it was predominantly moral and political in nature. Still, that support was extremely important to national liberation movements. Nevertheless, the imperialists managed to preserve their colonial system at the first stage of the general crisis of imperialism. In Asia, there were above all British and French possessions. The Netherlands, the United States and Japan also had colonies there.

The political map of Asia underwent striking transformations during the postwar period: the colours of virtually all colonial empires were removed from that map as the main bulwarks of imperialist reaction — German fascism in Europe and Japanese militarism in Asia — were routed. And the peoples of the whole world, including the colonies, were aware of the fact that the decisive contribution to the common victory of the anti-Hitler coalition had been made by the Soviet Union, by its army and people. The formation of the socialist world system led to a cardinal change in the alignment of forces in the world.

The upsurge of the national liberation movement in the very first postwar years, a wave that swept the Asian continent first of all, set the disintegration of the colonial system in motion. The process of decolonization in Asia was rapid and was completed within a short historical period.

The last salvos of the second world war were still reverberating when Japan's biggest colony, Korea, was liberated in August 1945, when Indonesia, and later Vietnam, proclaimed their independence. The Philippine Republic attained sovereignty in 1946, even though it was compelled to agree to the continued presence of U.S. bases on its territory. The year 1947 saw the liberation of India, the "most precious gem in the crown of the British Empire," from foreign rule. The Islamic State of Pakistan was formed simultaneously on the Hindustan peninsula.

It was after the victory of the October Revolution in Russia that the national liberation movement in India became particularly active and massive. The October Revolution and Lenin's political ideas had a great impact on the leaders of the Indian anti-colonial

COUNTRIES THAT HAVE FREED THEMSELVES FROM COLONIALISM

ASIA

Country	Capital	Area (in thous. sq. km.)	Present population (in mln.)[1]	Date of the proclamation of independence
1	2	3	4	5
Afghanistan	Kabul	655	18.6	February 28, 1919
Yemen (Yemen Arab Republic)	Sana	195	7	November 1918[2]
Iraq	Baghdad	435	16	October 3, 1932[3]
Syria	Damascus	185	10.6	September 27, 1941[4]
Lebanon	Beirut	10	3	November 22, 1943[5]
Korea		220	61	August 15, 1945[6]
Indonesia	Djakarta	332	167	August 17, 1945
Vietnam	Hanoi	1,904	60	September 2, 1945[7]
Jordan (formerly Transjordania)	Amman	96	3.5	May 25, 1946
The Philippines	Manila	300	55	July 4, 1946
Pakistan[8]	Islamabad	804	99	August 14, 1947[9]
India	Delhi	3,280	766	August 15, 1947
Burma	Rangoon	678	37	January 4, 1948
Sri Lanka (formerly Ceylon)	Colombo[10]	65	16	February 4, 1948
Israel[11]	Tel Aviv[12]	14.1[13]	4.3	May 14, 1948
Nepal	Katmandu	141	17	February 18, 1951[14]
Laos	Vientiane	237	4.1	October 1953[15]
Kampuchea (formerly Cambodia)	Phnompenh	181	7.3	November 9, 1953[16]
Malaysia	Kuala Lumpur	333	16	August 31, 1957[17]
Cyprus	Nicosia	9	0.67	August 16, 1960
Kuwait	Al Kuwait	20	1.8	June 19, 1961
Maldives	Malé	0.3	0.19	July 26, 1965
Singapore	Singapore	0.6	2.6	August 9, 1965
South Yemen (People's Democratic Republic of Yemen)	Aden	337	2.4	November 30, 1967
The Sultanate of Oman	Muscat	212	2	August 1970[18]
Bangladesh	Dhaka	144	100	March 26, 1971[19]
Bahrein	Manama	0.6	0.4	August 14, 1971

movement, including Jawaharlal Nehru, who was to become the first prime minister of independent India. Jawaharlal Nehru emphasized "that the Soviet revolution had advanced human society by a great leap and had lit a bright flame which could not be stifled, and that it laid the foundations for that new civilization towards which the world could advance." He also said: "If the future is full of hope, it is largely because of Soviet Russia and what it has done."

Two other important British colonies — Burma and Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) — became independent early in 1948.

In 1949, the victorious Chinese Revolution tore asunder the fetters of semi-colonial oppression, ignorance and poverty in the most populous country of the world. The formation of the People's Republic of China was the biggest victory of the revolutionary forces after the October Revolution. That victory further changed the alignment of forces in the international arena in favour of world socialism and added momentum to the liberation movements.

The independence of Laos and Cambodia (Kampuchea) was consolidated in the early 1950s. Malaya, which soon formed the Federation of Malaysia, Singapore, the Maldives, Cyprus, Kuwait, South Yemen and a number of feudal states of the Persian Gulf achieved independence in the late 1950s and early 1970s. And finally, the complete sovereignty of Brunei, a small oil-rich state in the north of Kalimantan, was proclaimed, after a considerable interval, early in 1984.

Only two small wedges of once-powerful colonial empires now remained on the map of Asia: British Hong Kong (Xianggang) and Portuguese Macao (Oomen). An agreement concerning these two colonies situated on the coast of China has already been reached between the parent countries and the government of China. Hong Kong will come under the sovereignty of the P.R.C. in 1997, and Macao, at the turn of the 21st century. This will be done on the principle of "one country — two systems," that is, they will be Chinese provinces with a status of their own: their present social and economic system is to be retained for a lengthy period.

Asian peoples took different roads to independence. Vietnam and Indonesia had to wage a prolonged and bloody armed struggle to achieve it.

Particular courage and staunchness was shown by the Vietnamese people. Their truly heroic war for independence, a war that lasted for many years, first against the French colonialists and later against the American interventionists, was crowned with the unification of the whole country — the North and the South of Vietnam, now a bridgehead of peace and socialism in Southeast Asia. The strongest imperialist country proved unable to crush the national liberation movement of quite a small nation which relied on a broad movement of internationalist solidarity.

The patriots of South Yemen waged an armed struggle to drive the colonialists out of their country.

The Indian people achieved freedom and independence via a truly massive movement of non-violent resistance, without resorting to arms.

Strictly speaking, not a single country has willingly been left by the colonialists. A new correlation of forces, the burgeoning national awareness of oppressed peoples compelled colonialist rulers to resort to political manoeuvring. In a number of cases they waived their supremacy and struck deals with those to whom they were surrendering power in the countries they were leaving. It should be noted that the powers that be in the parent countries quite often manifested insight, and in good time took measures to guarantee their long-term economic and, frequently, military strategic interests. Their departure from most former colonies was actually only political in nature. The majority of the former colonies in Asia remained in the firm grip of the capitalist world economy, tied to it by economic dependence. And the transnational cor-

1	2	3	4	5
Quatar				
The United Arab Emirates (formerly Trucial Oman)	Doha	11	0.3	September 1, 1971
	Abu Dhabi	84	1.33	December 2, 1971
Brunei	Bandar Seri Begawan	5.8	0.22	January 1, 1984

[1] According to U.N. data or estimates of June 1987.

[2] The monarchy was overthrown and a republic proclaimed in North Yemen on September 26, 1962.

[3] The monarchy was overthrown and a republic proclaimed in Iraq on July 14, 1958.

[4] The evacuation of foreign (French) troops from Syria was completed on April 17, 1946.

[5] The withdrawal of foreign (French) troops from Lebanon was completed on December 31, 1946.

[6] The date of Korea's liberation from Japanese rule. On August 15, 1948, South Korea was proclaimed the Republic of Korea. The capital is Seoul. The area is 99 thous. sq. km. The population 41 million. On September 9, 1948, North Korea was proclaimed the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (capital—Pyongyang, area—121 thous. sq. km., population — 20 million).

[7] The proclamation of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. After the unification of the North and the South of the country since July 2, 1976 — the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

[8] Formed as a result of the division of British India into two states on the basis of religion.

[9] Originally Pakistan was made up of two parts: East and West.

[10] As of February 1985, the administrative capital was moved to the Colombo suburb of Jayawardenepura-Kotte.

[11] Formed by the U.N. General Assembly decision of November 29, 1947 on the division of the trust territory of Palestine into two independent states: the Jewish and the Arab.

[12] Contrary to the U.N. decision of November 29, 1947, to regard Jerusalem an independent entity, Israel proclaimed West Jerusalem its capital in January 1950, and all of Jerusalem, in July 1980.

[13] Israel's area determined by the U..N. decision of November 29, 1947 on the partitioning of Palestine. Prior to June 5, 1967, Israeli territory actually included an area of 20.7 thous. sq. km.

[14] The overthrow of the pro-British regime of hereditary prime ministers Rana.

[15] The country was proclaimed the Lao People's Democratic Republic on December 2, 1975.

[16] The People's Republic of Kampuchea was proclaimed after the overthrow of the Pol Pot genocidal regime on January 7, 1979.

[17] The date of the proclamation of Malaya's independence. On September 16, 1963 Malaya became the Federation of Malaysia which also included Sabah and Sarawak, former British colonies on the North Kalimantan (Borneo).

[18] The date of the formation of the Sultanate of Oman out of the Oman Imamate and Muscat Sultanate, which were actually under British rule.

[19] The date of the proclamation of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, an independent republic, which effectively separated from Pakistan on December 16, 1971.

porations of Western countries, supported by their governments, are not about to miss their chance. Combined with attempts at military pressure on the part of the imperialists, above all the U.S., this is just what neocolonialism is all about.

Only a few Asian countries, upon achieving independence, started building socialism or its foundations (Mongolia back in the 1920s, and North Korea, China and Vietnam, all led by Communist parties, after the second world war). They were joined in the second half of the 1970s by Laos and recently by the People's Republic of Kampuchea, after it overthrew the Pol Pot genocidal regime.

The road of socialist orientation was taken by various Asian countries led by revolutionary-democratic parties, such as Burma, Syria, democratic Yemen.

Whatever road any given Asian country that achieved political independence might have chosen, all of them were faced with the task of national revival, of overcoming appalling social and economic backwardness, of improving the position of the impoverished masses if only slightly. Aside from external imperialist pressure manifested at times in outright intervention and aggression, their more or less successful development has been and is affected by various factors of an internal nature. These factors range from political instability and the struggle, at times extremely fierce, for power, for supremacy of certain social and political groups (hence military coups and the establishment of blatantly dictatorial regimes) to extreme poverty or, on the contrary, richness in natural resources, above all oil.

Take developing countries that chose the capitalist road, which are in the majority in Asia. The operation of the law of uneven development formulated by Marxists enhances differentiation within that large group. For instance, Turkey, India, which is among the top ten countries for industrial output, and Pakistan, are considerably advanced in the development of capitalist relations. Still greater results were achieved in this by the so-called new industrially-developing countries and territories of East Asia which include such favourites with transnational corporations as South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore, and also Malaysia of late. Or take such areas on the Arabian coast of the Persian Gulf as the United Arab Emirates and Kuwait which due to their immense reserves of oil and small population have larger per capita incomes than the most developed Western countries. Nepal or Bangladesh where 85 per cent of the population live below the poverty line and the literate make up no more than a quarter of the population are at the opposite pole.

The Red Fort in Delhi: on August 15, 1947, Jawaharlal Nehru ceremonially hoisted the flag of the independent India over the ancient fortress.

Generally speaking, most Asian countries, even those that seem to be quite prosperous, as well as the developing countries on other continents, have considerable economic difficulties. This is why their solidarity in the economic area started strengthening from the mid-1960s on in the framework of the non-aligned movement. They try to stabilize the prices of the raw materials they export, reduce their external debt, ensure greater economic assistance, particularly to less developed countries, get more favourable terms for the export of their industrial products to industrialized countries. All these and other demands are inherent in the concept of a new international economic order advanced by the non-aligned countries and supported by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. A growing external debt is the lot of the overwhelming majority of emergent Asian countries too. Their position, though not so desperate as that of Latin American countries, is still serious enough. It is aggravated by a dwindling of the hard currency earnings from the export of raw materials, by discrimination against their industrial products on the markets of the United States, Western Europe and Japan. Western protectionism is a real problem for developing countries. It threatens many of them with impoverishment, just like the arms race which is imposed on them and encouraged by the West.

It is indicative that Asia has become the cradle of the non-aligned movement which now encompasses more than one hundred countries and national liberation movements. It was precisely there, close to the southern borders of the U.S.S.R., that imperialism particularly exerted itself to draw emergent countries into the military-political blocs that were being formed in the 1950s. In these conditions the proclamation of the principled course of remaining outside blocs had an unambiguous anti-imperialist and anti-military character. Anti-imperialism and the struggle for peace, for the elimination of the nuclear menace are the main trends in the activity of the non-aligned movement, which has become a most important factor of world politics. And its Asian wing, so to say, has special influence due to the vigorous activity of one of the countries that originated the policy of non-alignment — India — and the consistent line of North Korea, Vietnam and Laos.

The Soviet Union has profound

respect for the ideals and principles of the non-aligned movement and jointly with the non-aligned countries declares for the removal of the threat of nuclear catastrophe looming over humanity, for the introduction into international communication of new political thinking based on values common to all humanity.

A vivid example of such new thinking was the Delhi Declaration signed by Mikhail Gorbachev and Rajiv Gandhi in November 1986. It proclaimed the principles of a nuclear-weapon-free and non-violent world. That declaration was sponsored by the world's first socialist state and the great Asian country.

Asia, the cradle of many ancient civilizations, has a particular need for joint, concerted efforts to ensure reliable security and develop fruitful cooperation. Even in the past, Asia has suffered from bloody wars and aggression more than other continents. Four regional conflicts that breed acute tension continue unabated on Asian soil. They require the earliest possible and most equitable political settlement.

The Middle East crisis caused by the aggressive, expansionist policy of Israel, backed by the U.S., a policy directed against the Arab countries, her neighbours, against the Palestinian people, whom Israel deprived of their national homeland, has been continuing in Western Asia for almost 40 years.

The Iran-Iraq war is raging in the same region, and the concentration of the naval forces of the United States and its allies in the Persian Gulf area could have most unpredictable consequences.

The undeclared war against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, whose leadership boldly and decisively took the course of national reconciliation to end the bloodshed, has been waged for many years under the United States leadership, mostly from Pakistani territory.

In Southeast Asia, the Kampuchean problem awaits resolution by political means, through dialogue.

And all these conflicts are taking place on Asian soil.

Asia and the Pacific are usually taken together when the problems of consolidating peace and security in the area are discussed. Indeed, these regions are adjacent and merge organically.

The process of decolonizing the small peoples inhabiting the Pacific islands and archipelagos started later than in other areas, but still rather a long time back, 25 years ago. Nine insular states — from Western Samoa to Vanuatu — achieved political independence in that time, and have already succeeded in asserting themselves positively in the international arena. However small those countries in the South Pacific might be, their anti-nuclear stance has become a political factor of world importance. Together with other members of the South Pacific Forum, they created in their area a nuclear-free zone (Rarotonga Treaty) in 1986. It was recognized by the Soviet Union and China, but the U.S.A., France and Great Britain denied it recognition.

The Asia-Pacific region is an area of great variety. In his policy speech in Vladivostok on July 28, 1986, Mikhail Gorbachev noted Asia's impressive diversity, its vast human and socio-political potential. This is a continent in motion. The Soviet Union is an Asian country too, for the biggest part of its territory lies east of the Urals. The experience of the Central Asian Soviet republics, which have taken great strides in their development since 1917, shows patently what a huge constructive power is inherent in a rekindled feeling of national dignity, in friendship and cooperation between equal and free nations with an identity of their own.

However varied the Asian countries might be, they have or at least should have, a common concern for a better, peaceful future for their peoples, a common striving to avert a nuclear Armageddon.

The Soviet Union, born of the Great October Revolution, has always supported the struggle of Asian peoples for their liberation from colonial oppression. Now it is developing and deepening its multifaceted and versatile ties and contacts with Asian countries that are consolidating their independence and experiencing social renewal. We are friends and partners in the struggle for lasting peace and universal security, for better, equitable relations among nations. ■

COUNTRIES THAT HAVE FREED THEMSELVES FROM COLONIALISM

OCEANIA

Country	Capital	Area (in thous. sq. km.)	Present Population (in mln..)[1]	Date of the proclamation of independence
Western Samoa	Apia	3	0.16	January 1, 1962
Nauru	Meneng[2]	0.02	0.01	January 31, 1968
Tonga	Nuku'alofa	0.7	0.1	June 4, 1970
Fiji	Suva	18	0.7	October 10, 1970
Papua New Guinea	Port Moresby	463	3.4	September 16, 1975
Solomon Islands	Honiara	30	0.27	July 7, 1978
Tuvalu (formerly Ellice Islands)	Funafuti	0.03	0.01	October 1, 1978
Kiribati (formerly Gilbert Islands)	Tarawa	0.7	0.06	July 12, 1979
Vanuatu (formerly New Hebrides)	Vila	12	0.14	July 30, 1980

[1] According to U.N. data or estimates as of June 1987.

[2] A district, the government residency.

THE AWAKENING

ANATOLY GROMYKO

Amilcar Cabral, the outstanding fighter for the freedom of Africa, once compared the development of a revolution to the destiny of a handful of grains. The hungry peasant would rather not keep these last grains for seed. He could cook a meal from them and assuage the hunger; but, planted in the ploughland and nursed by his caring hand, they will sprout abundantly. And though the peasant is aware that maybe nothing will grow if, for instance, a drought occurs or, the other way round, if a furious storm descends, all the same he wants to sow his field.

Each victorious revolution is an heir of the entire liberation movement of the peoples, a plant that has grown on the land soaked with the sweat and blood of the freedom fighters.

Contemporaries can seldom predict the true historical consequences of the events currently taking place, fully perceive and estimate the extent of their impact on the life of the present and future generation.

Why then did the tidings of the revolution in Russia, which flew around a world divided by the trenches of the first world war, compel the peoples of the planet literally at first notice to believe that they were hearing of an event capable of changing the entire course of history and, consequently, their own destiny. What made people of different nationalities, culture, historical experience perceive in the revolution that common denominator that united them with the Russian working class, which rose against capitalist oppression? What made the ideals of the revolution equally dear to proletarians in England, France, Germany and to the colonial slaves of the European capital in Africa?

Africans might not have known where that distant country whose workers and peasants had banished their masters was. But they knew that over there, on the other side of the Earth, lived the people who had become the masters of their own destiny. The news of the event came to them in bits and drabs that penetrated through the barriers of colonial censorship and the spate of slander in the bourgeois press. Later on the African people could learn about the revolution in Russia from the accounts of eyewitnesses — several thousand Moroccans, Algerians, natives of the French colonies in Tropical Africa sent to the first world war, found themselves in the Entente troops occupying Odessa and Sevastopol in 1918-19. They were not just witnesses of the revolutionary events in Russia, some of them went over to the Red Army and fought on its side for the ideals of the revolution together with the internationalists from European and Asian countries.

Back at home in Africa, the soldiers told their compatriots things incredible from the point of view which had been shaped under the influence of the Africans' struggle against the European colonizers. It turned out that the world was divided not only into whites and blacks. White workers were also carrying on a struggle against white capitalists. The workers wanted all the peoples regardless of their skin colour to live in peace and harmony and to make their own decisions about how to run their life.

The October revolution provided the peoples of the world with simple and clear answers to the questions put by the cruel age of imperialist oppression. At a time when imperialism had unleashed a bloody world war for the redivision of the colonies and the enslavement of those few countries that formally remained independent, the revolution showed the way to peace and liberation. Among the documents of primary importance to the triumphant revolution was the appeal to all working Muslims of Russia and the Orient, made public in December 1917, by the Soviet government. The victorious working class of Russia assured the oppressed colonial peoples: "Steadfastly and resolutely we are moving towards an honest and democratic world. On our banners we are carrying liberation to the oppressed peoples of the world."

The triumphant echoes of the Great October Revolution resounded amidst the thunder of the revolutionary storm that swept over all the continents, including Africa, which the European capitalists regarded as the backyard of the colonial world.

In 1919 and 1921, major armed insurrections erupted in Egypt, compelling Britain to formally recognize its independence in 1922. In 1921, the Rif tribes rose up in Morocco and set up an independent state — the Republic of Rif. For five years it waged a heroic struggle against the Spanish and French colonizers. In the years 1918-22, a wave of uprisings and mass unrest swept over Nigeria, Gambia, Sierra Leone, Cameroon, Togo, Angola, Mozambique, Kenya and Benin.

In South Africa, which had seemed pervaded through and through by the poison of racial hatred, under the influence of the Great October Socialist Revolution, a mighty internationalist liberation movement of the working people was born. Active dissemination of the ideas of the October Revolution was carried out by the members of the International Socialist League, formed in 1915, who called themselves South African Bolsheviks. In July 1921, on the basis of the League, the first Marxist-Leninist party in Africa was founded — the Communist Party of South Africa. In 1920, the first communist organizations came into being in Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia, and were intergrated as sections into the French Communist Party. In August 1921, the communist organizations of

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Egypt set up the Egyptian Socialist Party, which a year later became the Egyptian Communist Party.

Establishing revolutionary executive bodies in the process of their struggle, Egyptian and South African workers often called them by the Russian name Soviet. They did not translate the word. For them, the Soviets, born in the flame of the revolutionary struggle of the working class in Russia, were the symbol of working class power. The Great October Socialist Revolution illuminated with the light of hope the gloomy colonial dungeons. It instilled in the prisoners of these dungeons the belief that they were not alone in their struggle for freedom, that the fetters of colonialism would fall. Inspired by the example of the triumphant revolution, the Africans began to take an active part in the international working class and revolutionary movement. The representatives of African countries took part in the work of the Communist International, the Red International of Labour Unions, and a number of related international organizations. African delegates participated in the work of the congress in Brussels, 1927, which founded the Anti-imperialist League.

The International Committee of the Negro Workers, which emerged at the junction of the 1920s and the 1930s, launched the first proletarian magazine — Negro Workers — intended for distribution among Africans and Afro-Americans. The magazine made a great contribution to exposing the danger of racism emanating from fascism and militarism rearing their heads, to the shaping of the African liberation movement's ideology. Among the members of the editorial board were quite a few subsequently well-known political leaders of the African liberation movement and independent African countries.

Far from all of those who joined the liberation movement inspired by the ideas of the Great October Revolution remained true to the ideals of their revolutionary youth. Quite a few people formerly noted for their revolutionary radicalism later turned into respectable bourgeois nationalists whose collaboration quite satisfied the former colonial patrons. But the departure of some African politicians from the ideas of socialism pointed rather to the difficulties involved in the dissemination of progressive ideas on the continent than to their inapplicability to African conditions.

Around the time African states were attaining political independence, in most countries the ideas of scientific socialism were being spread on the scale of small study groups and were available only to a small section of the progressive intelligentsia. The propagation of the Marxist-Leninist ideas on the continent came up against fierce anti-communist propaganda and the complete illiteracy of the population. Ignorance was the best ally of the colonizers.

Political independence of African countries promoted the creation of new historical conditions for the dissemination of the ideas of the October Revolution on the continent. In the eyes of most Africans capitalist exploitation was firmly associated with the system of colonial oppression. Hence their often emotional rejection of capitalism, which in some cases gradually transformed into the perception of Marxism-Leninism as an integral revolutionary theory capable of providing the African people with an adequate answer to questions concerning the formation of a national state and development of these countries. This is a far from straightforward process; it is complex and contradictory and is aggravated in Africa by both the intrigues of imperialist reaction and the state of dire backwardness into which African countries have been plunged by the centuries of colonial oppression.

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It would not be an exaggeration to describe the present socio-economic condition of African countries as a tragedy of tens of millions of people hovering between life and death. It occurs to one that on that continent where 480 million people live, atomic, neutron and space weapons have started to kill. Every three days, the number of people dying of hunger throughout the world equals the number that died during the bombing of Hiroshima. And most of them are Africans. According to some estimates, during the famine and drought that beset the African countries in the early 1980s, about 35 million Africans died. A horrifying fact.

Drought is a natural calamity. But mankind possesses sufficient experience and knowledge to combat its consequences. The tragedy is that with a gigantic scientific and technological potential at its disposal that could solve practically all the planet Earth's problems, humanity uses this potential not for the benefit of its own development but for the material preparation of its own annihilation. Diverting comparatively small funds from military projects to overcoming backwardness would be sufficient to save millions of Africans from starvation and guarantee them an opportunity for progressive socio-economic advance. But the moral and political climate fostered by the arms race is no less pernicious for African countries than the economic consequences.

The Great October Socialist Revolution sparked off global transformation of the entire structure of international relations. One remarkable feature of that change is the crumbling of the Eurocentrist model of the world that rested on the domination of a group of imperialist powers which, in the words of V. I. Lenin, "was accustomed to look upon itself as the centre of the universe." Now 60 per cent of independent countries are located outside the Northern hemisphere and the European continent. For the first time in the history of mankind, international relations have assumed the dimensions of a truly global system. The imperialist policy of nuclear diktat is aimed at eroding this process. It is designed to deprive the newly-freed countries of historical initiative, emphasize their political helplessness, plunge them into a kind of "nuclear lethargy." The symptoms of this disease are well known. "We are a small country with no real weight in world politics. You are great powers possessing nuclear weapons. It's up to you to have it out between you," say those who suffer from this disease.

But current events in the developing countries, including Africa, are evidence of their gradual awakening from the "nuclear lethargy," of their becoming aware of the fallacy of the opinion that the issues of war and peace and the curbing of the arms race are the exclusive prerogative of socialist and capitalist countries. This was facilitated by objectively taking into account the developing countries' stands on the issues of war and peace in the idea of an all-embracing system of international security advanced by the Soviet Union. The proposals for building a non-nuclear and non-violent world, put for-

ward on behalf of the Soviet people by Mikhail Gorbachev, have accumulated the total positive experience in the struggle for peace both of the Soviet Union, the socialist countries and Asian, African and Latin American countries. That experience found expression in part in the activities of the non-aligned movement and the Delhi Six—Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden and Tanzania. The resolutions adopted by the 8th Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries, August-September 1986, in Harare (Zimbabwe), showed that more and more supporters are joining the struggle for a complete elimination of nuclear weapons, for the normalization of international relations.

The Soviet peace initiatives take into account the diversity of the contemporary world, its complex and multifaceted interrelationships. They are the answers to the new realities of our times calling for a sober, scientific approach to the global problems of the contemporary world. This analysis of today's world from the standpoint of the new political thinking was made possible by perestroika, which has started in our country under the leadership of the CPSU. Naturally, first and foremost this process is to impart the necessary acceleration to socialist construction in the Soviet Union. But perestroika cannot help but have a substantial impact on various aspects of contemporary international life. Those who believe in the ideals of humanism regard it as the heir of the cause of the Great October Revolution. Emphasizing this in his speech at the 4th Congress of Morocco's Party of Progress and Socialism, General Secretary of the Party, Ali Yata said that the revolutionary changes in the Soviet Union "create a new image of socialism, enhance its prestige in the eyes of the world's peoples, have a favourite impact on the international situation."

We have not the slightest desire to outdo anybody in a propaganda contest. Perestroika is not a major foreign-policy propaganda campaign. This is the party strategy aimed at further perfection of socialism. And if this helps to enhance the attraction of socialist ideas among those sections of the population in foreign countries influenced by bourgeois propaganda as it gloated over our mistakes, and were the public to turn its back on this propaganda, it would not be the result of a few striking and comprehensible slogans, but would stem from the invigorating strength inherent in the Marxist-Leninist teaching which gives confidence in the future.

The fundamental fusion of the new political philosophy of peace and real actions arising from the realities of the nuclear age, when the historical confrontation between socialism and capitalism can and must assume exclusively peaceful forms, also calls for more vigorous efforts to find ways of defusing regional conflicts.

The conflict in the south of the continent poses the gravest danger to peace in Africa. Hardly any politician today would dare openly support the apartheid regime. The international community has on the whole come to a kind of consensus concerning the need to wipe out the racist and colonial preserve in the south of Africa, dismantle the apartheid regime in South Africa and free Namibia. But the question begs: why does this regime still exist? Why, while condemning the racists verbally, does the West do its utmost to hamper the struggle of those who stand for the eradication of the odious system of apartheid?

The reasons for apartheid's lease on life lie both in the specific features of the development of South Africa and in the fact that it receives outside support, primarily from the Western multina-

COUNTRIES THAT HAVE FREED THEMSELVES FROM COLONIALISM
AFRICA

Country	Capital	Territory (thous. sq. km.)	Present population (in mln.)[1]	Date of the proclamation of independence
1	2	3	4	5
Egypt	Cairo	1,002	50	February 28, 1922[2]
Libya	Tripoli	1,760	3.6	December 24, 1951[3]
Sudan	Khartoum	2,500	21.5	January 1, 1956
Morocco	Rabat	446	22	March 2, 1956
Tunisia	Tunis	164	7.3	March 20, 1956
Ghana (formerly Gold Coast)	Accra	238	13.6	March 6, 1957
Guinea	Conakry	246	6	October 2, 1958
Cameroon	Yaounde	475	10.5	January 1, 1960
Togo	Lome	57	3	April 27, 1960
Madagascar	Antananarivo	596	10	June 26, 1960
Zaire (formerly Belgian Congo)	Kinshasa	2,345	30	June 30, 1960
Somalia (formerly Italian Somalia and Somaliland)	Mogadishu	638	4.6	July 1, 1960
Benin (formerly Dahomey)	Porto-Novo[4]	113	4	August 1, 1960
Niger	Niamey	1,267	6	August 3, 1960
Burkina Faso (formerly Upper Volta)	Ouagadougou	274	6.75	August 5, 1960
Côte d'Ivoire (formerly Ivory Coast)	Yamoussoukro[5]	322	9.8	August 7, 1960
Chad	N'Djamena	1,284	5	August 11, 1960
Central African Republic (formerly Ubangi-Shari)	Bangui	623	2.75	August 13, 1960
Congo (formerly French Congo)	Brazzaville	342	1.75	August 15, 1960
Gabon	Libreville	268	1.15	August 17, 1960
Senegal	Dakar	196	6.5	August 20, 1960
Mali (formerly French Sudan)	Bamako	1,204	8.4	September 22, 1960
Nigeria	Lagos	924	95	October 1, 1960
Mauritania	Nouakchott	1,030	1.9	November 28, 1960
Sierra Leone	Freetown	72	3.6	April 27, 1961
Tanzania	Dar Es Salaam	945	22.5	December 9, 1961[6]
Burundi	Bujumbura	28	4.8	July 1, 1962
Rwanda	Kigali	26	6	July 1, 1962
Algeria	Algiers	2,382	21.7	July 5, 1962
Uganda	Kampala	237	15.5	October 9, 1962
Kenya	Nairobi	583	21	December 12, 1963
Malawi (formerly Nyasaland)	Lilongwe	119	7	July 6, 1964

tionals. It is no secret that there is a long-standing genetic relationship between American racism and the apartheid regime in South Africa. Could it be that this too does not allow the United States to take a really consistent stand concerning the complete dismantlement of colonialism and racism in the south of Africa? Because such a stand would simply run contrary to the essence of what is understood as the "American way of live."

The imperial ambitions of the U.S. rest on the idea of the exclusiveness of the American nation. In conjunction with the Messianic idea of America's "mission from on high" to lead and change the whole world after its own pattern, the former concept underlies the approach to foreign policy matters on the part of the most reactionary fringe of its ruling elite, which will not recognize the realities of the rapidly changing and multifaceted world of today. In practical terms, this approach manifests itself in the "armament instead of development" principle which is even now killing people in long-suffering Africa.

The opponents of socialism, those who cannot stand the very idea of the masses becoming the masters of their own destiny, those who look upon the people as an instrument for their geopolitical schemes, will not give up their attempts to picture the October Socialist Revolution as "a dangerous social experiment with unpredictable consequences."

This task is all the more important for imperialism because as economic conditions deteriorate in the absolute majority of Third World countries, the awareness grows there that they cannot resolve the problems facing them by following the capitalist route of development. Africa is assigned a particular place in these schemes. It is there where the ideas of socialist orientation have gained more ground than anywhere else in the developing world, where over 10 countries have opted for it, that imperialism is counting on setting back the gains of free Africa.

Capitalizing on the economic difficulties which imperialism has forced upon the African peoples, the neo-globalists are trying to achieve such a demonstrative effect on this continent in the struggle against the forces of liberation and progress as could bear out the strength of the rather decrepit imperialism and in the long run change the alignment of forces in the world, which tends not to be in its favour.

In Washington they are coming up with all sorts of conjectures to the effect that were the Soviet Union to leave the world arena, renounce its active foreign policy aimed at supporting the forces of liberation and progress, the world would become more tranquil. Tranquil for whom? For terrorists trying to drown the liberation movement in South Africa and Namibia in blood, and sowing death and destruction in Angola, Mozambique, Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe?

The struggle for socialism and peace in its different forms is becoming a practical endeavour for the peoples in the national liberation zone. And the reason for this certainly does not lie in the policy of the Soviet Union, though the developing countries' interest in the ideology and practice of socialism is stimulated by the example of our country, which seventy years ago embarked on the road of socialist development and has made evident progress in this direction.

Socialism is an integral part of all humanity. And those who really sand for the development of international co-operation with a view to solving the global problems which face humanity must heed this reality. ■

1	2	3	4	5
Zambia (formerly Northern Rhodesia)	Lusaka	753	6.7	October 24, 1964
Gambia	Banjul	11	0.64	February 18, 1965
Botswana (formerly Bechuanaland	Gaborone	600	1.1	September 30, 1966
Lesotho (formerly Basutoland)	Maseru	30	1.5	October 4, 1966
Mauritius	Port Louis	2	1	March 12, 1968
Swaziland	Mbabane	17	0.67	September 6, 1968
Equatorial Guinea (formerly Spanish Guinea)	Malabo	28	0.39	October 12, 1968
Guinea-Bissau	Bissau	36	0.9	September 24, 1973
Mozambique	Maputo	783	14	June 25, 1975
Cabo-Verde (Cape Verde Islands)	Praia	4	0.33	July 5, 1975
Comores	Moroni	2.2[7]	0.48	July 6, 1975
Sao-Tome e Principe	Sao-Tome	1	0.11	July 12, 1975
Angola	Luanda	1,247	8.7	November 11, 1975
Seychelles	Victoria	0.4	0.07	June 28, 1976
Djibouti (formerly French Somalia)	Djibouti	22	0.46	June 27, 1977
Zimbabwe (formerly South Rhodesia)	Harare	390	8.4	April 18, 1980
COLONIALISM HAS ALSO BEEN EXPELLED FROM				
Eritrea[8]	Asmara	124	2.4	September 1952
Zanzibar[9]	Zanzibar	1.6	0.5	December 10, 1963
Western Sahara (formerly Spanish Sahara)[10]	El-Aaiun	266	0.12	November 14, 1975[10]

[1] According to the U.N. data or estimates as of June 1987.

[2] The monarchy in Egypt was overthrown on July 23, 1952.

[3] The monarchy in Libya was toppled on September 1, 1969; starting from March 3, 1977, the state system in the country is defined as Jamahiria, "the state of the masses."

[4] In fact, the capital of the country is Cotonou — the residence of the president, government, diplomatic corps.

[5] New capital of the country, but all government agencies remain in Abidjan.

[6] This day marks the freedom of Tanganyika. On April 26, 1964, it united with Zanzibar which had freed itself from colonial rule on December 10, 1963. As a result of their unification, the United Republic of Tanzania was formed.

[7] Including the island of Mayotte seized by France from the republic.

[8] Former Italian colony Eritrea, then a trust territory controlled by Great Britain. In September 1952, by U.N. decision it was made a part of Ethiopia.

[9] On April 26, 1964, Zanzibar joined with Tanganyika, forming the United Republic of Tanzania.

[10] On this day Spain pulled out its troops from Western Sahara. First a large part of Western Sahara, and in 1979 all of it, was annexed by Morocco. The national liberation organization, the POLISARIO Front, on February 27, 1976 proclaimed the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic which in 1982 was accepted into the OAU. The U.N. and the OAU insist on a referendum in Western Sahara to determine the will of the its population.

THE "VOLCANIC CONTINENT"

SERGO MIKOYAN

Fragment form David Alfaro Siqueiros' triptich.

The world today has become so interrelated and interdependent that it sometimes seems that the Earth has grown smaller. People are apt to get this impression subconsciously perhaps because they now see the planet as more than a globe on their desks. The porthole on a spaceship, from which we can now take a look as well thanks to cosmonauts and modern technology, is a vantage point for observing the Earth in all its vulnerability and, importantly, in all its wholeness as an integral system created by nature. Atmospheric flows sweeping over our small, bright sphere are clearly visible even in photographs and films. One can easily see for oneself, for instance, how a storm in one region affects other parts of the world.

Perhaps only astronomers and a few forecasters pondered over these matters in 1917. Life seemed to be proceeding in utterly different ways in different corners of the Earth, Latin America included: at different tempos and under different, sometimes even incomparable socio-political systems. In some places life could move ahead, while in others it could lag hundreds or thousands of years behind like, say, high in the Andes or in the Amazonian jungles.

To be sure, even today there are still Indian tribes whose lifestyles are like those of our European forefathers many thousands of years ago. To be sure, even today in the wilds of Latin America a man may not know the word "revolution." But one would have to make a special effort to find such a place and such a man today. Seventy years ago, however, not to know the word would have seemed only natural. There had been no transoceanic flights yet. Radio was just making itself known, and very quietly at that. True, there was the telegraph, but then the number of illiterates was very large too! Compared with today, the sources of information at the time were very scanty into the bargain!

Realizing how far the world was then from today's space velocities, satellite communications, newspapers with a circulation of several million, radio and television broadcasting for nearly all the world's population, one can only be struck by the response evoked by the Great October Revolution in Latin American countries, which are our geographical antipodes as far as parallels and meridians are concerned: not only are they in the Western Hemisphere, but they are also for the most part located in its south. I shall not cite any statements in favour of the far-off revolution in Russia by prominent Latin American public figures—they are familiar to many. Although those comments could also make one wonder at how the true nature of the Russian revolution reached the hearts and minds of people living so far away and having such meagre sources of information, at that sometimes blatantly tendentious.

The fast growth of the influence of socialist and communist ideas on the continent vividly demonstrates the falsity of "export of revolution" theories and is an example of how advanced ideas in fact travel: without visas.

It was only before October 1917 that O. Henry could write his "Cabbages and Kings" without departing too far from reality. Even Cuba then fitted his descriptions of toy republics. What can you say then about Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala and Panama?

However, not everybody realized that it was not just at the Winter Palace that the cruiser Aurora fired its blank shot on October 25 (November 7), 1917. It is perhaps symbolic that it was a blank, because it was essential to breach not the walls of the Winter Palace but the mentality of people who had put up with the age-old system of oppression, rightlessness, "geographical fatalism" and many other things. It is simply amazing therefore how quickly the best minds in Latin America grasped the interdependence of events and processes an ocean apart! As Mexico's national hero Emiliano Sapata said in 1918: "The cause of revolutionary Mexico and unbending Russia represents the cause of all mankind, the supreme interests of all oppressed nations...."

But far from everybody was able to realize the real significance of the Aurora's volley. For a long time after that, ignorant generals-turned-presidents would burn Stendhal's book "The Red and the Black" or a chess manual by the Russian Chigorin in city squares across Latin America, thinking that they were creating a lasting immunity against the ideas of the "Russian Revolution." Stroessner and Somoza, Pinochet and Duvalier would later have recourse to wholesale repression and genocide against their own peoples to kill in them the desire to even think of the words "liberation" and "socialism." For a long time to come it would take just a phone call from the U.S. ambassador to change the policy of one country or another — or its government.

I remember the Cuba of 1960, the year after its triumphant revolution. It was no longer necessary to prove that it hadn't been guided by Moscow even to fanatics from fascist organizations in the

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United States—they had already had everything explained to them at the CIA. But it still was very interesting to see what kind of ideological connection there could be traced from October 1917 in Russia to January 1959 on Cuba. It was not fully realized by everyone, even by some of the leaders of the Cuban revolution. I particularly remember the words of a woman who had been a leading member of the anti-Batista underground, a proud and resolute partisan: "It is thanks to you that we have been able to say no to those Yankees for the first time!"

What did she mean? Evidently that after the victorious October revolution, it had become easier for the ideas of liberation to win the masses over to their side and thus become a material force. It was only later that it became clear: liberation is genuine and irreversible and meets the interests of the entire nation only when it is accompanied by socialist change.

The ideas of socialism still have a long and difficult way to go in the Western Hemisphere. However, the fact that socialism in the U.S.S.R.—just by being there—has become a guarantee of the incomparably stronger positions of Latin American countries in the struggle for their national liberation is indisputable even for bourgeois politicians.

The historical development of these countries, of course, has not been a straight path. For the fascist dictatorship in Chile has been a kind of "response" to the popularity of socialist ideas as well. The same is true of the dictatorship of the Guatemalan military, who have kept flooding their country with blood for decades. Ordinary dictatorships which have, alas, been traditional for the continent—like the juntas of Perez Jemenez in Venezuela, Duvalier in Haiti, Machado on Cuba, and others—have had a penchant for waving the anti-communist bogeyman as well: it was the only way that an ideological basis could be furnished under the corrupt, sadistic regimes, and dollar injections secured for them.

However that may be, history's wheels have kept turning. Anti-popular dictatorships in South America have collapsed, leaving Pinochet and Stroessner in what is far from "glamorous" isolation, the isolation of candidates for the dock. The peoples of the West Indies have been waging a desperate struggle, which has so frightened the U.S. rulers that they have not been ashamed of flinging the full weight of a great power at tiny Grenada, while shouting that the Caribbean is being turned into a "communist lake".... Central America has become the front line of struggle between those peoples' yesterday and their tomorrow. But today is still today, with a hard, painful, bloody struggle for the right to say no to the Yankees, for the right to give the insulted and the injured what Dostoyevsky's soul ached to give but what can really be given only by progressive concepts of social systems.

They are out to strangle Nicaragua today precisely because they are eager to rob the Latin American nations of hope, the hope of which Pablo Neruda wrote: "Latin America is very fond of the word 'hope.' We like it when we are called a 'continent of hope'.... When the Cuban revolution was accomplished recently, millions of Latin Americans jolted awake as if they had been given a shock. They couldn't believe their ears. Such a thing had never been seen in the annals of a continent which eked out a desperate existence, basing its whole life on hope.

"All of a sudden, Fidel Castro, a hitherto unknown Cuban revolutionary, seized hope by the hair or by the feet, preventing it from flying away, and seated it at his table, in other words, a table in the home of America's peoples."

How many times has hope slipped past the peoples of various countries on that continent after being born in October 1917 on the other side of our planet! Seventy years later, today it is countered by the military might of the most powerful capitalist country and by unprecedented financial, economic, technological and political pressure on those thinking about socialism. But their numbers are growing all the time.

...A small, luminous globe swept by air currents. It isn't just what the Earth appears to be from a spaceship. It is what it really is: a vulnerable, interrelated planet where it is impossible to stop the atmospheric flows swirling around it with any artificial barriers. It is not only impossible but extremely dangerous to try arbitrarily to paint the globe any one colour.

FIGHTING FOR DEMOCRACY AND PROGRESS

VLADIMIR RAZUVAYEV

"Like the French revolution yesterday, the Russian revolution will now find its reflection in the Americas."

From Cuban revolutionary Julio Antonio Mella's message to students, 1927.

In certain places certain people adhere to the opinion that the October revolution has not had a serious impact on the political development of the Latin American region. Such views are based only on the fact that it did not cause immediate social upheavals in Latin America. Meanwhile, Latin American nations, which were at a higher stage of socio-economic development than many Asian and African states, were much more responsive to new, progressive ideas. Political culture there was more mature as well. As a result the October revolution had a profound influence on political processes in the Latin American region.

Unlike Asian and African states, the vast majority of Latin American nations there had already won independence at the beginning of the 19th century. One hundred years later it was not a "revolution of the flag," but a struggle against imperialist exploitation that was the order of the day in the region. This is why the ideas of the socialist revolution in Russia told first of all on that problem, the most pressing for Latin American nations.

At the beginning of the 20th century the maturity of different political detachments in different countries of Latin America, of course, was not equal. It is not happenstance, for instance, that the honour of being the first in the region to form diplomatic relations with the Land of Soviets (in 1924) belonged

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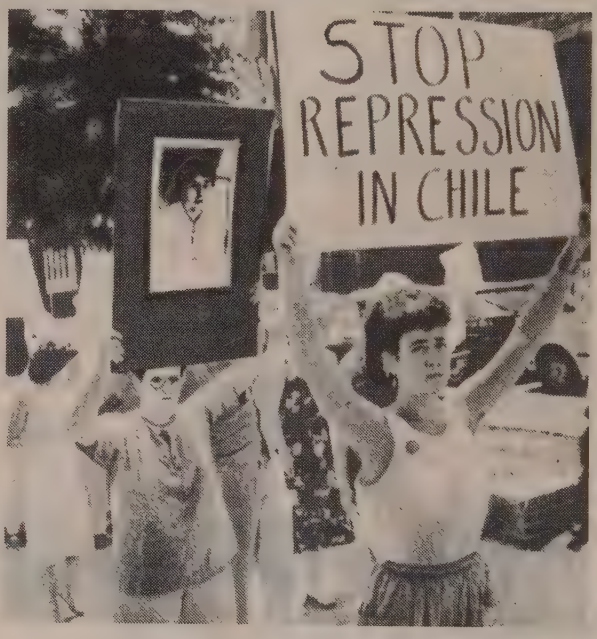
to Mexico, a state where a bourgeois democratic revolution had taken place shortly before. Mexico's example was soon followed by Uruguay.

After establishing diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, Latin American states saw a change in their political status on the international scene. They got more room to manoeuvre in foreign policy and a greater capacity for resisting imperialist pressure. Commercial ties between a number of Latin American countries and the U.S.S.R., which were mostly maintained through Yuzhamtorg—a joint-stock trading society involving Soviet capital (its main office was in Buenos Aires and there were branches in Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay and Chile)—had not only economic but also political significance. "Trade with Russia," stressed Argentine economist Jose Liceaga, "contributed in a measure to Argentina's deliverance from the pressure brought to bear on it [by imperialist powers—**V.R.**] in connection with the nationalization... of enterprises... from 1927 through 1930."

Communists move up front

The political picture of the Latin American region in the 1920s was markedly enriched by the formation of Communist parties in a number of countries. The first of those appeared in Argentina in 1918 (it was initially called the International Socialist Party). A year later a Communist Party was founded in Mexico, in 1920 in Uruguay, in 1922 in Chile and Brazil, in 1925 on Cuba and in 1926 in Ecuador. Those parties became the vanguard of the oppressed masses in the struggle against imperialism and home-grown reaction and for full national emancipation and democracy. Athough the memberships of most Communist parties were relatively small, their emergence and activities added to the maturity of the political systems in Latin American countries.

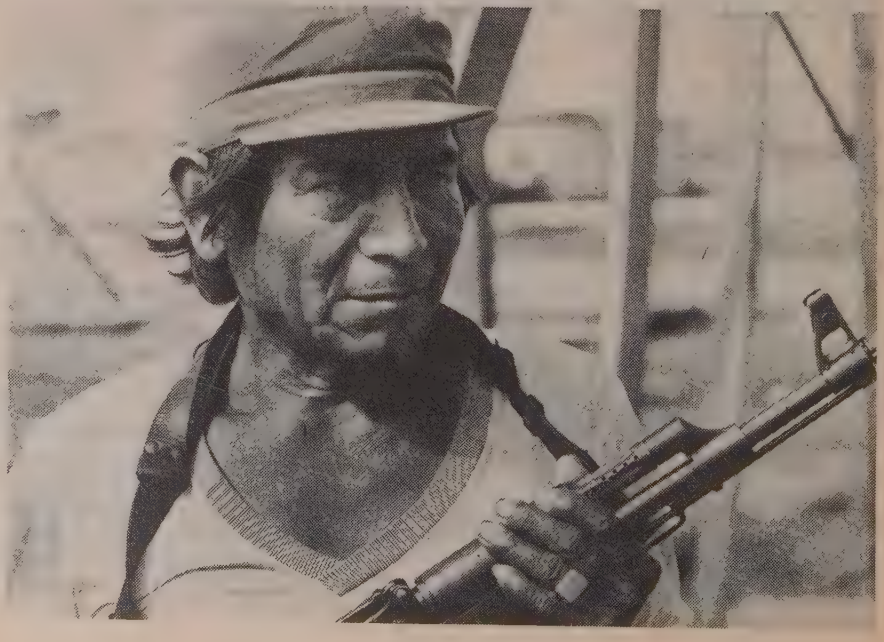
Much assistance to Latin American Communists was given by the Comintern. That organization was, and still is, reproached by some people in Latin America for interfering in the internal affairs of some countries. The Comintern did indeed make mistakes and they were later denounced by the communist movement. But it should be borne in mind that the bourgeois parties in Latin America received substantial support from abroad as well. In those conditions the Communists were able to hold out against the reactionaries only by drawing on the experience and some resources of the international communist community. In the final analysis, the aid given by the Communist International was of benefit to



A rally of protest in Caracas against the economic policy of the Venezuelan government. The factory and office workers and students of Latin America are defending their social rights in the hard struggle.

A demonstration in front of the Chilean embassy in Washington.

A Nicaraguan home guardsman.



democracy and progress in Latin America.

The class struggle gathered momentum and trade unions in Argentina, Chile and Uruguay consolidated their positions. Worker federations were set up on Cuba, in Peru, Ecuador and other countries. The mounting social confrontation brought a number of gains to the working class: an eight-hour working day and new, more progressive social legislation in Costa Rica, Chile, Argentina and on Cuba.

In the 1920s the Latin American countries' struggle for their national interests made significant headway: in Argentina there was a successful campaign for nationalizing oil; in Nicaragua a civil war and occupation by North American marines gave rise to a liberation movement led by Augusto Sandino; in Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, Peru, Chile and a number of other countries anti-imperialist resistance intensified, leading to extremely sharp clashes in some cases.

In the 1920s the Latin American coun- Latin America deepened dramatically and the democratic movement grew stronger. An uprising on Cuba in 1933 toppled Gerardo Machado, a placeman of the U.S. multinationals. In Chile two years earlier there had come the downfall of the Carlos Ibanez del Campo dictatorship and that country for some time remained a republic governed by Socialists. In El Salvador in 1932 there arose a patriotic rebellion in which a prominent part was played by a newly formed and small, but spirited Communist Party led by Farabundo Marti. Yielding to pressure from Latin American fighters for democracy and progress, the United States had to withdraw its troops from Nicaragua in 1933 and from Haiti in 1934.

Against fascism, for democracy

In the 1930s Latin America lived through a period of increasing fascist influence. Enjoying the backing of Germany and Italy, local reactionaries took on a higher profile in Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Paraguay and Peru.... In those conditions broad coalitions of progressive parties became a new form of the popular campaign against fascism and war. The greatest success was achieved by the Chilean People's Front, which got its candidate elected President in 1938. An important role in the anti-fascist movement was played by democratic associations in Brazil, on Cuba and in some other countries. Efforts by the masses prevented undisguised reactionaries from taking power in Latin America.

With the revolutionary democratic movement in Mexico on the rise, the presidential election there in 1934 was won by a representative of the radical wing of the National Revolutionary Party, Lazaro Cardenas. His government revived the agrarian reform, restored democratic freedoms, legalized the Communist Party, carried out a partial nationalization of enterprises belonging to British and U.S. businesses, and gave appreciable help to Republican Spain.

Although Latin American nations were not directly involved in hostilities during World War II (with the exception of Brazil, whose 50,000-strong corps fought on the side of the Western allies in Italy, and Mexico, which sent a squadron of combat planes to join the U.S. Air Force on the Philippines), the outcome of the global showdown with fascism had a favourable effect on the evolution of the political situation in the region. As the members of the anti-Hitler coalition, most notably the Soviet Union, scored ever more impressive victories on the fronts, the democratic movement in Latin American countries became ever more broadly based. Pro-fascist elements were neutralized in the governments of a number of Latin American states, while democratic forces won substantial victories. In part, they compelled thirteen governments to start diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, which had produced miracles of heroism in the battle against the brown plague. Communists during the war sat in the governments and parliaments of a number of countries. The dimensions and influence of the trade union movement grew. In 1944 a democratic revolution began in Guatemala.

The U.S. administration's policy of complicating the international situation and Latin American reactionaries' striving to prevent further successes by democratic forces in the second half of the 1940s and the early 1950s resulted in a series of military coups (Peru, Cuba and Colombia). But the postwar period was not entirely dominated by all-out onslaught on the part of conservative and reactionary forces. The Guatemalan revolution acquired an ever more radical nature. In 1952 a revolution got under way in Bolivia.

After a certain abatement, the strike movement started intensifying again in the beginning of the 1950s. Despite the success of counterrevolutionary intervention in Guatemala in 1954 and the Bolivian leadership's departure in 1956 from a revolutionary transformation of society, the democratic trend kept gaining in strength. Dictatorial regimes

COUNTRIES THAT HAVE FREED THEMSELVES FROM COLONIALISM
AMERICA

Country	Capital	Territory (in thous. sq. km.)	Present population (in mln.)[1]	Date of the proclamation of independence
Jamaica	Kingston	11	2.3	August 6, 1962
Trinidad and Tobago	Port of Spain	5	1.2	August 31, 1962
Guyana (formerly British Guiana)	Georgetown	215	0.8	May 26, 1966
Barbados	Bridgetown	0.4	0.25	November 30, 1966
Bahamas	Nassau	14	0.24	July 10, 1973
Grenada	Saint George's	0.3	0.11	February 7, 1974
Suriname	Paramaribo	163	0.37	November 25, 1975
Dominica	Roseau	0.8	0.08	November 3, 1978
Saint Lucia	Castries	0.6	0.13	February 22, 1979
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	Kingstown	0.4	0.1	October 27, 1979
Belize (formerly British Honduras)	Belmopan	23	0.17	September 21, 1981
Antigua and Barbuda	Saint John's	0.4	0.08	November 1, 1981
Saint Christopher and Nevis (Saint Kitts and Nevis)	Basseterre	0.3	0.05	September 19, 1983

[1] According to the U.N. data or estimates as of June 1987.

collapsed in a great number of countries.

The Cuban torch

The reinforced international positions of the Soviet Union and other socialist states meant the existence of external prerequisites for the liberation and democratic movements in Latin America to move ahead. The year 1959 saw a popular anti-imperialist revolution on Cuba, which later evolved into a socialist one. Power in the country went into the hands of workers and peasants, the exploitation of man by man was abolished, agrarian reform effected, and enterprises owned by foreign and local entrepreneurs nationalized. The Cuban government led by Fidel Castro from the very outset embarked on an anti-imperialist foreign policy, actively joined the fight for peace, international security and nuclear disarmament.

The emergence of the first socialist state in the Latin American region stimulated popular struggles for progress and democracy there. Political independence at the time was won by Jamaica (1962), Trinidad and Tobago (1962) and Barbados and Guyana (1966). But Cuba's anti-imperialist foreign policy had an influence on a much wider spectrum of political forces. With an upsurge of movement for the national interests of Latin American countries, even some of the right-wing regimes that took a dim view of the building of socialism on Cuba expressed their sympathy, either openly or otherwise, for a state that had been able not only to challenge North American diktat but also to counter it successfully.

Advances in the building of socialism on Freedom Island, as Cuba came to be known, and their influence on the popular masses in neighbouring countries forced the United States and the ruling quarters of Latin American nations to make fundamental changes in their policies. In 1961 Washington unveiled an Alliance for Progress programme. Although the misleading name of that programme and the publicity showered on it were meant to attract public sympathies to the United States, the fundamental aim of the project was to preempt the Cuban revolution's influence and democratic change in the region. The programme promised to Latin American countries sizable U.S. financial aid (two billion dollars annually over ten years) and socio-economic, above all agrarian, reform.

With varying success

However, it did not prove possible to forestall the successes of revolutionary and democratic forces in the Latin American region even with those concessions. Imperialist and reactionary quarters then attempted to give battle to democratic movements by other means. In 1965 the United States launched direct armed intervention in the Dominican Republic to prevent patriotic forces there from coming to power. Military coups in Brazil in 1964 and in Argentina in 1966 installed right-wing authoritarian regimes in those countries. The military's involvement in running state affairs and "regulating" social processes became an ever stronger trend. Military regimes asserted themselves on Latin America's political scene for nearly twenty years.

The democratic forces of the region responded to the reactionaries' offensive by engaging them with new vigour. The climax of that struggle was the Chilean revolution of 1970-73. The platform of the Popular Unity alliance called for building a socialist society by democratic, non-violent means. The experience and lessons of the Chilean revolution were reflected in the theoretical programmes and practical political activities of democratic forces not only in Latin America but in other parts of the capitalist world as well, above all in Western Europe. The decolonization process made further progress. In the 1970s political independence was gained by the Bahamas (1973), Grenada (1974), Surinam (1975), Dominica (1978) and Saint Lucia (1979). The diplomatic blockade of Cuba imposed by the United States after the victorious revolution on that island ended in failure. More than 100 nations now have diplomatic relations with Havana.

In their stand against the advances of democracy and socialism on the volcanic continent, the reactionaries once again began banking on a weapon they had tested well in the 1960s, that is on right-wing authoritarian military regimes. In 1971 the right wing of the armed forces took over in Bolivia and in 1973 the right-wing military seized power in Uruguay and Chile. Guided by a "national security" doctrine, the army command unleashed terror against democracy. Killings, torture and wholesale arrests became a fact of life.

The reactionaries' successes, however, were not, and could not be, lasting as they clearly ran against the mainstream of international life. In 1979 revolutions triumphed in Nicaragua and Grenada and some time later popular liberation movements emerged and grew stronger in El Salvador and Guatemala. The 1980s have seen democratic principles grow ever stronger in Latin America, and the bankruptcy of right-wing authoritarianism become ever more apparent.

Relying on powerful international support, bourgeois democratic regimes in the first half of the 1980s were established in Brazil, Argentina and Bolivia. Despite the imperialists' attempted counterattacks (the 1983 U.S. invasion of Grenada and the overthrow of the popular government there; the undeclared war against the Sandinist revolution in Nicaragua waged by the contra proxies), the democratic trend in Latin America in the mid-1980s definitely intensified. The Duvalier dynasty was done away with in Haiti, the armed forces in Guatemala handed power over to a constitutional civilian government, and patriotic forces in Chile and El Salvador are continuing their struggle for freedom and democracy.

There is no doubt that right-wing authoritarian regimes are doomed. However, this does not mean their automatic defeat in the fight with the forces of democracy and progress. To score a decisive victory, it is vital for these forces to unite, but for different reasons this is difficult to achieve in some cases, as demonstrated, for example, by the experience of the Chilean liberation movement. It is no less important to Latin America that its nations rally together in the face of imperialist exploitation. Finally, the Latin American region can and should make a greater contribution to the cause of world peace.

■

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Art editor Igor Shein.

The photographs, charts and diagrams used in this supplement have been taken from TASS and from magazines Newsweek (U.S.), The Economist (Britain), Nidal al-Shaab (Syria), Philyastin Al'Thawrah (PLO), Sechaba (ANC, South Africa).

FREE SUPPLEMENT FOR SUBSCRIBERS TO NEW TIMES

powerful state without the precisely, clearly and voluntarily expressed consent, and wish of that nation, irrespective of the time when such forcible incorporation took place, irrespective also of the degree of development or backwardness of the nation forcibly annexed to the given state, or forcibly retained within its borders, and irrespective, finally, of whether this nation is in Europe or distant, overseas countries.

If any nation whatsoever is forcibly retained within the borders of a given state, if, in spite of its expressed desire—no matter whether expressed in the press, at public meetings, in the decisions of parties, or in protests and uprisings against national oppression—it is not accorded the right to decide the forms of its state existence by a free vote, taken after the complete evacuation of the troops of the incorporating or, generally, of the stronger nation and without the least pressure being brought to bear, such incorporation is annexation, i.e., seizure and violence.

The government considers it the greatest of crimes against humanity to continue this war over the issue of how to divide among the strong and rich nations the weak nationalities they have conquered, and solemnly announces its determination immediately to sign terms of peace to stop this war on the terms indicated, which are equally just for all nationalities without exception.

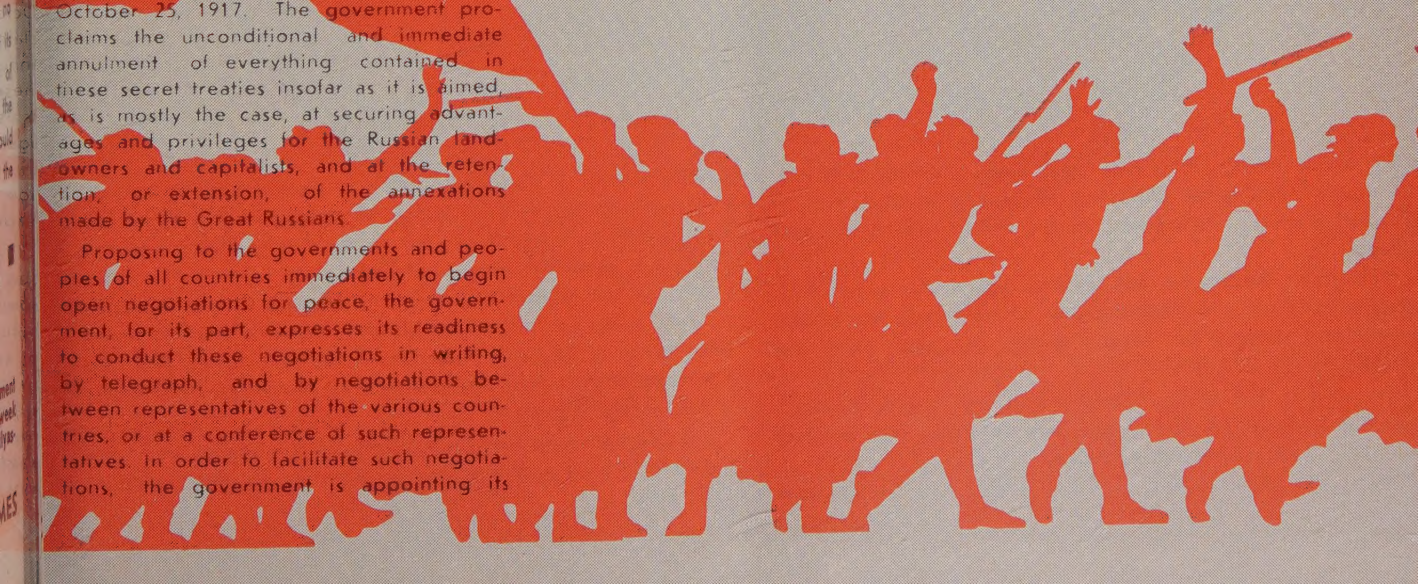
At the same time the government declares that it does not regard the abovementioned peace terms as an ultimatum; in other words, it is prepared to consider any other peace terms, and insists only that they be advanced by any of the belligerent countries as speedily as possible, and that in the peace proposals there should be absolute clarity and the complete absence of all ambiguity and secrecy.

The government abolishes secret diplomacy and, for its part, announces its firm intention to conduct all negotiations quite openly in full view of the whole people. It will proceed immediately with the full publication of the secret treaties endorsed or concluded by the government of landowners and capitalists from February to October 25, 1917. The government proclaims the unconditional and immediate annulment of everything contained in these secret treaties insofar as it is aimed, as is mostly the case, at securing advantages and privileges for the Russian landowners and capitalists, and at the retention, or extension, of the annexations made by the Great Russians.

Proposing to the governments and peoples of all countries immediately to begin open negotiations for peace, the government, for its part, expresses its readiness to conduct these negotiations in writing, by telegraph, and by negotiations between representatives of the various countries, or at a conference of such representatives. In order to facilitate such negotiations, the government is appointing its plenipotentiary representative to neutral countries.

The government proposes an immediate armistice to the governments and peoples of all the belligerent countries, and, for its part, considers it desirable that this armistice should be concluded for a period of not less than three months, i.e., a period long enough to permit the completion of negotiations for peace with the participation of the representatives of all peoples or nations, without exception, involved in or compelled to take part in the war, and the summoning of authoritative assemblies of the representatives of the peoples of all countries for the final ratification of the peace terms.

While addressing this proposal for peace to the governments and peoples of all the belligerent countries, the Provisional Workers' and Peasants' Government of Russia appeals in particular also to the class-conscious workers of the three most advanced nations of mankind, and the largest states participating in the present war, namely, Great Britain, France and Germany. The workers of these countri have made the greatest contributions the cause of progress and socialism; the have furnished the great examples of th Chartist movement in England, a numb of revolutions of historic importance e fected by the French proletariat, and, nally, the heroic struggle against the An Socialist Law in Germany and the prolon ed, persistent and disciplined work creating mass proletariat organizations Germany, a work which serves as a mod to the workers of the whole world. these examples of proletarian heroism a historical creative work are a pledge th the workers of the countries mention will understand the duty that now fac them of saving mankind from the horro of war and its consequences, that the workers, by comprehensive, determine and supremely vigorous action, will he us to conclude peace successfully, a that at the same time emancipate the bouring and exploited masses of our po ulation from all forms of slavery and forms of exploitation.



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